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ABSTRACT

Youth employment is the focus of this compilation of 11 working papers (by selected specialists) developed to aid the National Commission for Manpower Policy (NCMP) in its ongoing efforts to develop a national manpower policy. An introductory section comments on the overall needs/conclusions revealed by the policy papers. Policy paper titles and authors are "Youth Transition to Work: The Problem and Federal Policy Setting" by Paul E. Barton; "The Youth Labor Market" by Marcia Freedman; "Corporate Hiring Practices" by the NCMP staff; "Labor Market Experience of Noncollege Youth: A Longitudinal Analysis" by Herbert S. Parnes and Andrew I. Kohen; "The Competencies of Youth" by Ralph Winfred Tyler; "Employment and Training Programs for Youth" by Robert Taggart; "Community Efforts to Link Education and Work" by Dennis Gallagher; "Informational and Counselor Needs in the Transition Process" by Seymour L. Wolfbein; "Apprenticeship: A Potential Weapon against Minority Youth Unemployment" by Ernest G. Green; "Problems of Rural Youth" by Ray Marshall; and "Foreign and American Experience with the Youth Transition" by Beatrice G. Reubens. The appendix outlines issues and policy perspectives drawn from the policy papers. (SH)

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FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

Improving the Transition

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A Collection of Policy Papers
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The National Commission for Manpower Policy

The National Commission for Manpower Policy was established by Title V of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (Public Law 93-203). In creating the Commission, the Congress found that the responsibility for manpower and related programs was so "diffused and fragmented" that it was impossible to develop national manpower priorities. Further, the Congress noted that a "coherent, flexible, national manpower policy" was necessary to the resolution of other economic and social problems. Accordingly, the National Commission for Manpower Policy was created to examine the myriad of issues involved in the development, deployment, and employment of the nation's human resources and, further, to advise the Congress, the President, the Secretary of Labor and other federal agency heads on what the nation's manpower policies, goals, and programs should be.

The Commission consists of seventeen members including the heads of six federal agencies: the Secretaries of Defense; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; and the Administrator of Veterans Affairs. Eleven public members are appointed by the President from among representatives of industry, labor, commerce, and education; persons who are served by manpower programs; and elected officials who have responsibility for operating such programs.

The Commission is a permanent statutory body with a director and an independent staff. In carrying out its responsibilities the Commission has undertaken several special studies including an assessment of manpower program delivery, coordination, and performance under the recently decentralized manpower system. It has also convened a number of special conferences to develop contact and dialogue with certain key groups in society including business, labor, community groups, the research community, educators, and others with interest in manpower policies and programs. The Commission has prepared and widely distributed a number of special reports on a variety of manpower topics. In addition the Commission has submitted several reports to the President and Congress on a range of manpower policy issues. Copies of the reports may be obtained through the Commission offices (Suite 300, 1522 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005).

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FOREWORD

At its organizational meeting in November 1974 the National Commission for Manpower Policy was urged by several of its members to recognize that the employment problems faced by many young people, particularly those from low income families, had reached crisis proportions. The unemployment rates for certain teenagers, especially those from inner-city minority groups, was in the 40 to 50 percent range.

As a result of an interchange between the President and the Commission members during a meeting at the White House in January 1975, the decision was reinforced to give the subject of youth employment a high place on the Commission's agenda. A special task force consisting of Doctors Ford, Kreps, Porter, and the Chairman was established with a charge to develop a plan of work.

This volume is a direct outgrowth of the early planning of the Youth Task Force. A quick survey by the Commission's staff had revealed serious conceptual and informational gaps. The task force determined that before it could formulate policy recommendations it first had to assure a strengthening of the knowledge base. Accordingly, it identified and requested the assistance of selected specialists, each of whom was asked to prepare a working paper on a dimension of the problem that fell within his or her expertise. It is gratifying to report that almost without exception each person who was asked to assist agreed to do so.

The Commission recognized that one of the more illusive aspects of the subject was that of employer behavior in recruiting, hiring, training, and promoting youth. The Commission sought, and was fortunate in obtaining, the cooperation of three large national employers--in communications, manufacturing, and retailing--who agreed to review the last years of their experience with young workers. The Commission prepared the critical questions on which it sought illumination, and the companies were able, in most instances, to reply to each question in considerable depth. In securing the cooperation of the companies, the Commission promised not to reveal their identity which explains the structure of Chapter 3. It must be emphasized that rich as their replies were, the three companies account in total for only slightly more than 1 percent of the nation's labor force. Care must be taken not to extrapolate their experience beyond the appropriate boundaries.

In August 1975, the Commission, aware of the existence of an interdepartmental cabinet-level committee comprising the Secretaries of Labor, HEW, and Commerce, arranged a conference of interested federal agencies to explore their respective concerns and agendas in the youth arena. One clear finding emerged: although many federal agencies were exploring various facets of the youth problem, there was no large-scale effort focused specifically on the transition of youth from school to work. The Commission concluded that it could safely push ahead on this front without any fear of duplication or overlapping.

Prior to this August meeting the Commission had explored with the Carnegie Corporation support for its work on youth employment problems. After the August meeting, when the Commission was able to define its role more specifically, it made a formal request for a subvention, on which the Carnegie trustees acted affirmatively in the fall of 1975. The generous support of the Carnegie Corporation has made it possible for the Commission to publish this volume and to undertake several other activities vital to the school to work project.

The completion date for the following papers was set for the end of 1975. With the papers in hand, the Commission held a working conference in February 1976 attended by representatives of the principal federal agencies and informed persons from selected nongovernmental organizations. I am noting below some of the more important points that emerged from this critical review.

- The focus of national concern should be on the one-quarter to one-third of the age group who face major hurdles in making the transition from school to work. Most young people are able to make the transition without special assistance, although many of them could profit from improved linkages among schools, employers, trade unions, and other critical institutions.

- The prevailing high unemployment rates cannot be used uncritically to define the magnitude of the problem, since they reflect in part the desirable search that many young people undertake to find more congenial jobs. But voluntary turnover by no means accounts for much--much less all--of the high unemployment rates among youth.

- From an analytical and policy point of view, it is desirable to differentiate the employment-unemployment experience of young people who are still full-time students (in search of part-time or summer jobs) from those who are out of school looking for work or discouraged to a point where they have ceased to look.

- It is distressing to find, according to Ralph Tyler's review of the evidence (see Chapter 5), that approximately one-quarter of the population lacks the basic skills to function effectively as adults. The high school is apparently unable to overcome with its present curricula the barriers to effective learning. This suggests the need for much more experimentation in which work experience is integrated into the learning cycle. School and community must be brought into new and effective relations, so that all young people are better positioned to learn and mature.

- While the aging process enables many young people, especially white males to move out of beginners' jobs with relatively low wages to better ones with higher earnings and potential career security, this is not true for many women and for males from minority groups, who tend to get stuck in the least desirable jobs. A democratic society must be more concerned about broadening the opportunity for disadvantaged groups to compete for the better jobs.

- There is no prospect of any substantial lowering of youth unemployment rates unless there is a substantial tightening of the labor market. Hence, effective remedies for youth unemployment must be set within the larger framework of a national employment policy that moves rapidly toward providing jobs for all who are able and willing to work.

- Currently, the federal government is spending on manpower programs alone over a billion dollars annually to assist youth in the transitional process (see Chapter 6). A first challenge is to explore whether this sizable expenditure might be more productively deployed, so that all youth acquire the basic skills they will need to gain access to a wide range of jobs, including those with promotional opportunities.

- The demographic picture is changing rapidly. The number of teenagers reaching working age is beginning to decline. The impact of this decline needs to be carefully assessed.

- If many youth need work experience while still in school, many thorny problems must be thrashed out with employers and trade unions, both of whom encounter difficulties in absorbing large additional numbers of teenagers. But the social costs that result from large numbers of youth being out of school and not anchored in work cannot be ignored. Solutions must be sought at the local level through the cooperation of schools, employers, trade unions. The role of the federal government remains to be clarified.

The Commission's next task is to assure the early and wide distribution of this book, with its authoritative and far reaching information and constructive suggestions for corrective action. The Commission will then explore with other advisory groups at the federal level--including in particular those involved in the strengthening of career education, vocational education, and secondary and higher education--the problem of how their respective efforts can be better integrated, in the conviction that the complexities of the issues and their effective solution could gain from a better consolidated effort.

As laid out in its first annual report to the President and the Congress--*Toward a National Manpower Policy*, October 1975--the Commission is directing most of its energies during 1976 to the specification of a national manpower policy. As part of this overriding effort, the Commission will seek to place the youth transition problem within a full employment approach. Recommendations which the Commission may make on youth employment issues will be integrated with its overall recommendations on what the American society can do to assure job opportunities for all who seek work. This volume, therefore, is a linchpin in the Commission's ongoing efforts to develop a national manpower policy that will enable every American to develop and utilize his or her potential to the fullest.

Eli Ginzberg
Chairman
National Commission for Manpower Policy
April 1976

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CHAPTER 1

YOUTH TRANSITION TO WORK: THE PROBLEM AND FEDERAL POLICY SETTING

Paul E. Barton

The period since World War II has been, by standards of achievement long applied, the best of times for American youth; it remains to be seen whether the achievements of this period have been entirely to our advantage or whether in protecting youth from the harshness of adult life we may have gone too far and made it harder for them to live as adults.

Affluence combined with perhaps the most youth-centered culture in history has enabled the prolonging of childhood, for most youth at any rate, for six or seven years beyond the time when the physical ability to do society's work commences, the time that, in fact, provided the natural break from childhood during all but the most recent period of man's existence. During the late 1940s and not before, the word "teenager" came into existence, to provide a label for a population physically mature yet still cared for.

The swing generation's teenage children were without adult jobs during this extended period of preparation for adult life but not without resources; cars appeared as transportation to high school and college, the music and recording industry found its largest market ever, and special charge accounts for teenagers were advertised by department stores.

Increasingly, these youth grew up in suburbs, saw people around them living as well as they did, associated mostly with other young children with still young parents, were transported by family station wagons to extracurricular affairs, and were treated to what was thought to be the best in high school education, which more and more took place in institutions with 2,000 to 4,000 students. Taught to live as part of an age group, they learned their lessons well, and by the time those who were going to college got there, their views about the conduct of national and international affairs, and the manner in which those views were expressed, turned out to be quite different from those of their parents' generation, or perhaps any American college generation before them (a comment not rendered in judgment but in reminder that a lengthening period of protection and attendance in society's institutions of socialization did not result in a passing on of parents' views and values).

The younger sisters and brothers of these college students and the children of those who had been too young to fight in World War II found the schools even larger, saw alcohol replaced with hard drugs--which were available as early as junior high school--turned against the expensive clothes that youth before them had worn, and found accommodations for living together in vans, whereas their predecessors had had to settle for evenings in the parking lots of suburbia's shopping centers. Despite these outward differences between teenagers today and those who were teenagers during the mid 1950s and early 1960s, the prolongation of childhood, in whatever guise, remains the status quo, and most affluent middle class youth today are still going to college.

This is the situation of youth most visible to those Americans who matter in terms of power in the institutions of employment, education, and government. The rest of American youth, those stopping their educations at high school or earlier, must be making it somehow, but no one knows quite how that process is working. Often, it isn't. Until the riots of the 1960s, the public knew, only if it read of such things, that blacks (still called Negroes then) were moving rapidly to the centers of the major cities, and that the city surely wasn't the promised land. Claude Brown's life exemplifies what teenagers were doing in the crowded city center and still are doing: fighting for their reputations on the streets by age 12, being pushed into early motherhood, seeing all too clearly the inequalities and irrationalities of a welfare system, and missing out on a critical element of socialization into the work world: having fathers and mothers who can get stable jobs providing incomes that cover the essentials of living. Only the successful few are making it to the suburbs, and when they get there they are too far away to be what the sociologists have come to call effective role models.

Those who stay in rural areas see little hope there for a career, unless family resources are sufficient for the conversion to agribusiness. For the most part, though, youth aren't staying on the farm. In poorer states their education is likely to be substandard, which is no help in the city; and if vocational education is available, it is likely to be in agriculture and is no help for most of those who study it.

The disparities in adult society have been, not surprisingly, visited upon the young, and the schools have proved unable to achieve equality of abilities among youth of different races and economic classes, a task many seem to think is the schools' and theirs only.

No one knows what the extended protective shield for the coming of age of middle class youth will mean for their lives and their children's lives. As for what is happening to the youth trapped in the cities without community, and often without family or resources, the shape of their future cannot be discerned in detail either; we can, however, be sure enough that it is not a benign influence for the individual or for society.

This extension of childhood for the middle class, combined with the growing isolation of the big junior and senior high schools,[1] leaping technological change, frequent, sometimes chronic labor surpluses, and the containment of blacks in the center city while the jobs (especially ones youth could hold) were shifted to the suburbs, has resulted in some of the worst of times for youth, or at least a dramatic break from the past in regard to the age of admission to adult society.

The growing portion of youth starting college, and the growing portion of corporate decision-makers whose sons and daughters comprise the one out of five youths entering the full-time labor force with a college degree, has probably had the effect of increasing the social minimum age at which youth are permitted to enter most forms of regular adult employment. Although it is entirely a matter of conjecture about cause and effect, the age of entry into regular employment seems to advance with the expected age at which the middle class emerges from college; the facts, at least, are consistent with such a proposition.

It is on such critical matters as this that our excellent statistical system leaves us in the lurch. One could point to a rising youth unemployment rate over time, only to be confounded by the fact that youth employment has increased as fast as the youth labor force.[2] Closer inspection reveals that this employment increase is almost wholly in part-time jobs for students, that students get these jobs rather quickly (at least in nonrecession periods) but move about so much during the year--summer job to part-time job to Christmas job--that they are cropping up more and more in the official count of unemployment. It is almost as if things had gotten turned around, with the unemployment rate advancing to reflect the greater success of youth in locating these kinds of jobs.

The story, then, is not in the unemployment rate, or the employment rate either, for that matter. The better question is "At what age will employers hire youth for regular full-time jobs of the kinds that adults hold?" The answer is not to be found in the unemployment statistics at all but in a number of special studies conducted over the last half decade. The composite results are that from two-thirds to four-fifths of employers do not want to hire young people for regular jobs until the attainment of age 21 or thereabout.[3] For the four out of five who enter the labor force without a college degree and who want to do it between the ages of 16 and 20, the extended childhood period must continue, even when society has conferred the last year of its free 12 years of education at age 17 or 18. The high school diploma received at this age cuts little ice; the graduate's success is not much different from that of the dropout in the several years before the age of 21.[4]

Perhaps employers would dip below age 21 if they were hard pressed to do so by rapidly expanding markets. But the years have been few when workers were in such short supply as to require such action. The effects on youth of a chronic labor surplus are compounded by the way technological change affects manpower requirements. Although such change cannot yet be indicted for eliminating more jobs than it creates, it has to be a large factor in the condensing of work life toward the middle years, causing people to enter regular employment at an older age and retire from it at a younger one.

With youth seemingly less critical to the needs of industry, employers thinking of youth the age of their offspring still in college as too young to work, and youth walled off in ever-larger schools for longer and longer periods, the chasm that exists between the world of education and the world of work becomes more understandable, if not more acceptable. The opportunity for phased adult experience shrinks, and youth becomes older as time passes and become less adult at the same time; the prophesies that they are not ready to assume responsibility become self-fulfilling.

The comment made a number of paragraphs back about the unemployment rate tending to be inflated by success in part-time job-seeking needs qualification. For that ever-larger number of students engaging in casual part-time work, the comment is true enough. But for those blacks facing bleak opportunity in the center city, the unemployment rate for teenage blacks, even as it shot toward an unbelievable 40 percent in the 1975 recession, was inadequate in the other direction; the current situation is worse than it suggests. For teenagers, it is more revealing to look simply at the portion who are employed. The real tragedy of the black condition emerges with such measures. In 1954, 43 percent of white teenagers were employed, *rising* to 49 percent by 1974. In 1954, 38 percent of black teenagers were employed, *falling* to 26 percent by 1974. There is nothing now on the horizon to change these trends.

Much has been made, at different times, of the importance of demographic projections of the youth population and labor force for manpower planning, and it is legitimate to ask what the projected trends mean for the future. It is sometimes said that as the members of the post-World War II baby boom generation move into their late twenties, with the slower growth, even a decline, of the teenage population in the years to come, the problem of youth transition to work will lessen. Implicit in this statement is the assumption that the enlargement of the youth population was responsible for the rise in the teenage unemployment rate of that period. But "teenage jobs" fully kept pace with that population growth in the aggregate; the measured teenage unemployment rate is not a very useful guide to the existence of a problem. The gap between education and work, it is posited here, is the result of social, cultural, and economic changes--altering both the way we treat youth and the way we view youth--not a matter of population demography. If this is the case, the problem will not recede just because the tide of youth recedes. On the other hand, a lessening of demographic pressure cannot help but be on the right side, and it ought to make matters easier as we tackle basic structural and institutional arrangements.

It should be well noted that the population climb among young blacks did not recede and does not recede in the projections made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). Unfortunately, BLS has not published projections by race since 1970. Those projections expected 3.3 million blacks aged 16 to 24 to be in the labor force by 1985, compared with an actual figure of 2.6 million in 1974. The comparable numbers for whites, using the same projections, are 17.5 million in 1985, compared to 19.2 million in 1974.[5]

It is clear now that the quantity of jobs for blacks is inadequate and that the problem here includes, but also transcends, improved institutional linkages; things are going to get worse for young blacks unless some major steps are taken to create jobs, or to get blacks out to the suburbs, where the private economy is creating jobs for white youth. It is worth stating again that closer relationships between the processes of education and work will help the great bulk of youth; and they will help many blacks, but just as many blacks will be left behind until something is done about the quantity of experience opportunities available to them.[6]

This is the setting of the problem. The federal role in dealing with it is necessarily a restricted one compared with what must be done locally, by parents, individual citizens, teachers, and employers. But it is still an important one and must be attended to with care.

NATIONAL ASSISTANCE: LOCAL ACTION

There is increasing recognition and acceptance of the proposition that we are too vast a nation and too pluralistic in our decision-making for many of our social conditions to be altered through uniform national policies, even less through federal government policies. That assertion is particularly true of efforts to bring about a smoother transition to adulthood, where federal, state, and local government and public education agencies, individual employers, unions, public employment services (with their three levels of policy-making), new municipal manpower agencies, parents, and, increasingly, students, are parties to the process.

On the other hand, it seems to be at the seat of national government that the need for change is recognized, the climate for change often conditioned, and the cost of change at least partially funded. This has been true of almost everything that has happened in the last 40 years in the manpower arena, including employment services, public retraining of the unemployed, public employment, and income maintenance. It has also been true of most of education that has been career specific, from land grant colleges to vocational education and on to career education. More recently, the Washington influence has become more subtle, but present nevertheless, in such projects as the federally funded and appointed panel that wrote *Youth: Transition to Adulthood*, the small Labor Department grants to stimulate better use of occupational information, and the models such as Experience-Based Career Education, established with federal money in four cities for others to emulate.

The limits to handed-down initiatives, from the Washington headquarters of one bureaucracy to its local offices, are increasingly apparent. There can be many reasons for diminishing opportunity for central policy directions, but a major one is that no one bureaucracy or institution has total responsibility for the youth transition, and no one command is capable of trimming the sail.

The ability to discern the general situation from Washington seems unimpaired, as is the superior financial position to get things started; it is the ability to accomplish things at the local level, particularly in this area, that Washington is short on. Given all this, the best approach seems to be to put the pieces together at the local level, with the initial stimulation and at least some funding coming from the federal level. It is out of experience with what local individuals and agencies are able to succeed in doing together that we will discern what an education-work policy has turned out to be.

The national role in getting local efforts started will, of course, require some judgment about what makes sense to get started on; there has to be some formulation of what is to be tried, if only by way of stimulating local people to think of ways to do it differently. It would be helpful in this respect to give a careful review of the experiences of those communities around the country already working on the problem (such a review is contained elsewhere in this volume).

It is suggested that the appropriate federal policy role is that of stimulating a variety of local projects that have the merit of bringing together several of the critical participants in a school-to-work transition, and of perfecting a number of what would become operational components of a complete local effort. A great deal of room would be left for local design, and federal suggestions would be just that and no more. Examples of suggestions are provided below.

- A number of *local councils*[7] large enough to provide useful experience, composed of educators, employers, union members, parents, effective individual citizens, members of community organizations, and elected students to try to bring back together the now disparate pieces of the community that formerly took a greater responsibility for the transition to adulthood. Almost any of the projects and pilot programs suggested below could be carried out under the auspices of such councils.

- *Community employment counseling services* for high school students, which might operate under guidelines established by professional guidance counselors but which would have as their purpose the identification and organization of all resources available within the community to assist youth in learning what occupations are like and how people in them got where they are now.

- Model *employment placement services*, working to provide part-time opportunities for youth still in school, career opportunities for youth leaving school, follow-up through age 20 or so, and feedback to the schools about the kinds of barriers to employment success that exist after schooling is completed. Given the past jurisdictional questions not yet clearly resolved, it would be useful to have at least four different kinds of models:

  — A high school or consortium of high schools operating the services.

  — The public Employment Service operating them, in a location accessible to students.

  — The schools and the Employment Service operating them *jointly*, with shared funding and carefully worked out responsibilities.

  — Volunteer service organizations providing the entire initiative and implementation.

- *Community internship programs* to supplement opportunities in the private employment sector, so that all students needing it can have an opportunity to combine experiential learning with more formal education. The attempt would be to generate local programs under a variety of auspices, such as--

  — A volunteer citizens committee.

  — A committee of heads of major organizations that would have experience opportunities.

  — The education-work agencies, such as the schools, the municipal agency administering the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and the public Employment Service.

- *Model delivery systems* for all work experience opportunities within a community to see how much more employer cooperation and involvement could be gained by efficiently developing opportunities and appropriately matching students and opportunities without many separate approaches to individual employers.

- *Demonstrations* --perhaps as part of the above component--of what community-minded federal employers can do to stimulate an experience component in education. The combination of federal establishments located in a city--including employers holding federal contracts--involvement of the federally funded CETA agency, and public service activities receiving federal aid, would very likely provide a substantial number of experience opportunities for students and set the example for private employers. This is the kind of activity that existing councils of regional executives could organize.

- A careful *demonstration project* to find out what difference the alternating of education and experience makes in the stereotypes now held by employers about the undesirability of young people under 21 as employees. Employers would have an opportunity to see what capabilities young workers have, and young workers would have the opportunity to mature as productive workers. Before-and-after employer attitudes toward youth would be measured.

- An *education program* prepared for all employers and school officials on what federal, state, and local child labor laws permit, as well as prohibit, with regard to student work experience programs and the hiring of youth as they graduate from high school. To find out what impact inadequate knowledge about child labor laws is having, before-and-after surveys about employer knowledge, attitudes, and actual hiring practices would be desirable. If the surveys were done in several communities, the worth of a widespread educational effort could be evaluated and the most effective approach could be formulated.

- The provision of money to a local school system to permit it to work out *cooperative agreements with private skill training schools,* so that high school students could get skills in approved private schools where public school offerings were not available. The money would be used to pay the students' tuition in the private schools in situations where academic education was provided in the public school and specific skill training in the private school. There has been a failure to bring about an integration of the resources available in the community, and exploration of cooperative arrangements in a few communities might determine how practical such possibilities are.

- A *demonstration public broadcast youth TV program*, on a scheduled basis, which would--

  - Advertise its program and offerings in the local schools.

  - Solicit job listings from employers and give regular job availability bulletins.

  - Interview panels of people in identical occupations to draw out what that occupation requires and offers and how these people had prepared for the occupation and achieved success.

— Interview employers about what they have to offer and why youth would want to work for them.

— Interview graduates who have found jobs with regard to their job-hunting experiences and what worked best for them.

Efforts would be made to see how many viewed the program and who they were and to determine whether they found it useful.

- Development of a *local occupational inventory* of entry-level jobs for graduating high school seniors, done by a consortium of individual citizens and organizations and made available in each high school within the guidance and counseling department. Means would have to be established for keeping the inventory up to date. It would have to be a listing of organizations generally having opportunities rather than a precise, current job vacancy record, which requires considerable statistical expertise and is usually done on a sampling basis.

- Development of an education program or a *guide for local communities* showing them innovative models now in existence to better integrate education and work. The nation is so vast that the likelihood of any community's knowing what other communities are doing is not very great. A system of gathering specific information on individual projects would enable duplication of successful efforts and results.

- A *comparison* (in one or several local communities) *of the job performance* of 18-year-old high school graduates, who have been provided with the necessary on-the-job training with that of older persons doing similar work, to see if there is, in fact, a basis for the large-scale refusal of corporations to hire persons under age 21.

These are meant to be only examples. Their purpose is to show that there are a large number of things to try, based on informed judgment. Any serious effort to launch a series of projects at the local level that go beyond efforts now being made by individual institutions operating in isolation from each other and from the community itself, would turn up other possibilities worthy of a trial run and might very well reject many of the above suggestions.

NEW EFFORTS IN EDUCATION

New developments in education at the federal level are quite important in the overall effort to improve the transition from school to work. A few comments seem warranted in the context of the purpose of this paper, although no attempt will be made to be complete or comprehensive.

Leadership as Well as Money in Career Education

It should be taken as instructive that the largest influence the federal government has had on elementary and secondary education since the response to Sputnik, has been one of leadership, not money. For that large majority of students not in the accelerated math and science courses, career education, an approach initiated in late 1970, may be the most significant federal initiative since vocational education was enacted into law in 1917. Although many states and localities are not quite sure how to implement career education in the specifics, they are increasingly convinced that basic changes are necessary and that the momentum behind the idea of education as preparation for careers is great enough to provide the opportunity for change.

Money played some role in the creation of the career education initiative, particularly in starting the several models, such as Experience-Based Career Education. But the amounts were so small as to be insignificant in a multi-billion-dollar public service industry. What has been started is by and large the result of the personal leadership of Commissioner Sidney Marland and Director Kenneth Hoyt; the continuing support given by Commissioner Terrell Bell and David Jesser of the Council of Chief State School Officers; and the initiative of a number of individual school officials. Things have been brought to the point at which enlarged financial resources will now be necessary.

It would be ironic, though, if a movement started and sustained by individual leadership became dependent for sustenance largely on new federal legislation and appropriations, while the dynamics of its progress thus far were ignored. This is not to suggest that a legislative and financial base is not needed; it is. But it will be tempting to move too quickly beyond reliance on individuals who can persuade others . . . to persuade still others.

Within a very short time, a new Commissioner of Education, working with what funding he had, described the way education for the non-college-bound had become neither good general education nor a means of entering adult employment. Then he proceeded to tell educators what to do instead. Gaining the confidence of practitioners and the understanding of those who had long played important roles in the preparation of youth for employment, was the job of the new Director of Career Education, with the support of the Commissioner of Education. The judgment must be that, by and large, the climate of receptivity has been greatly improved.

Continuing skilled--and adroit--leadership from Washington is an essential, and that leadership's largest contribution at the present time will be to assure that those placed in leadership roles at the state and local levels are people who understand the need, and who have the skills, to influence educational policy and practice. There cannot be--should not be--federal direction over who is appointed to these posts, for these are state and local matters. But the leadership that creates the climate for encouraging careful selection, and cooperation from other elements of the education establishment, will have to come from those sponsoring the effort in Washington.

The selection of such individuals up and down the line will not very likely result from legislation, policy pronouncements, or grant guidelines. It is rather a matter of the personal efforts of effective leaders. The proposition is that the most important career education matter is personnel, for if recruitment is handled poorly at this stage, all else will come to naught.

Limits of the Classroom

The originators of career education were clear in their recognition that the classroom is as large as the community. The natural tendency of educators, however, is to do what they have always done, which is to reduce the world outside to what can be put into a book or a lesson plan or to what can emanate from an instructor.

The difference in method is important enough so as to transfer the burden of proof onto those who would abstract the outside and bring it in, with the presumption being that what exists in the present can be best understood through observation and participation. This leaves much to be learned about the past, and about what is generalized by adults who have many experiences, for classroom material.

From the number of times one hears the term "hands-on experience," it would appear on the surface that all is well. But we should not assume so, and the record-keeping system for tracking progress in implementing career education should be designed to tell us where progress is taking place. Education has increasingly meant that youth were delayed from joining those who were doing; it would be ironic if career education were practiced in such a way as to reinforce this trend rather than reverse it.

The question of what kind of education is appropriate for the classroom and what for the outside world has perhaps even greater relevance for vocational education, since it teaches specific job skills in the classroom and also provides general theory and basic education to supplement skill training. The matter has too often been approached on a pedagogical basis when it is really a rather practical question of what works and what does not.

The process of deciding on an appropriate vocational education curriculum ought to be carried out on the basis of how employers hire and train in particular industries in a particular community. If they hire on the basis of skills received in a vocational classroom, it makes sense to teach those skills as long as the access of youth to jobs is actually increased and the broader purposes of education are not forsaken. Where employers do their own training and want it that way, it is not a wise investment to train youth in public classrooms. These are matters that can be determined by asking employers what their practices are, what they want them to be, and whether it makes sense to change them. If all vocational education courses were established only after a determination of how employers' labor supply is actually met, much of the doubt that seems to hang over vocational education might disappear.

Assuming Responsibility Without Ability

The very term "career education" suggests that careers can be had through education. They can, but only to some extent. It has become increasingly recognized that we have loaded too much responsibility for socialization onto the schools, and that they are unable to compensate for all of the failures of other institutions. Schools do have limits in their ability to correct the effects of broken homes, bad parenting, the impact of racism, and so on. There are enough factors other than education involved in whether a young person actually lands a regular adult job when schooling is completed so that educators would be wise to be wary of seeming to take all--or even most--of the responsibility for assuring access to quality employment for youth. With regard to youth who do not go beyond high school (about one of every two of them today--a group now growing) most employers just do not hire them for regular adult jobs until they are about 21 years old. It is not likely that a change in what is taught within classrooms is going to significantly alter employers' practices, for hiring is not now based on objective studies of youth preparation and performance ability.

The point is that educators are not going to be able to go it alone and would be well advised to announce to employers and parents and to other community institutions that they share responsibilities with the schools. Better, these several responsibilities would be best met through collaboration at the local level, and the most successful career educators will very likely be those who organize such collaborative arrangements rather than just receive classroom materials.

There is probably already considerable confusion in the minds of students, parents, and the public between education for careers and access to careers. Education does not assure access. The problem is in identifying that portion of access that *can* be facilitated through teaching in schools or through better access to occupational information through schools or through better matching of desires and opportunities through counseling, as compared with the portion that is controlled by race and sex discrimination, arbitrary employer hiring requirements that exclude youth, and the fact that most specific skill training--more often than not by employer preference--is provided in industry, not in public schools. The relationship between educators and students is only one part of the work of career educators; teaching the public how access to employment is obtained, how it is denied, and how other guardians of access can widen opportunity, is most of the rest of it.

Federal Attention to Counseling and Guidance

The counseling and guidance profession has taken its share of the blame for the little that is done for non-college-bound youth to enable them to make it in the job world, and many in that profession would agree that attention has been going disproportionately to assisting in college choice. Further, the attempt to professionalize the function went far toward thwarting the development of people who if given professional supervision could be of considerable help to youth, as well as helping to overcome what all recognize as a shortage of people to do the job.

While other aspects of education have received considerable federal attention, the counseling and guidance function has largely been ignored, and no legislative base for improvement has yet been laid. The profession, through the efforts of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, has displayed a sensitivity to the existing situation and has formulated legislative remedies that would go a long way toward giving youth the assistance they need in negotiating the job world, through a reorientation of the whole function, through the retraining of existing counselors, and through a greater recognition and use of paraprofessionals.

At this point, responsibility for the next steps lies as much with the Congress and the Executive Branch as it does with the harried counselors.

MEASURING THE TRANSITION

Although America has the finest measurement system in the world, the system has served to illuminate the adult situation much better than it has the transition period to adulthood. It must also be recognized, however, that the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Employment and Training Administration, the Office of Education, and the Bureau of the Census have assembled a mountain of information about youth. But it is still a valid point that a sharper focus on the transition *process* would have prevented events from drifting as much as they have toward a situation now demanding national attention. As was suggested earlier in this paper, the youth story is not easily read from the available statistics; in fact it is easily misread, and has been, as evidenced by the attention paid to teenage unemployment rates alone.

The insufficiency of present quantitative information is not really traceable to failures of the statistical agencies. What has happened is that in the last few years we have developed a different perception of the situation—a concern with qualitative aspects of the coming of age, and particularly with the role that institutions and the relationships among them play in determining whether admission to adulthood is being encouraged or facilitated, or made increasingly difficult. Given this fact, it is hardly reasonable to expect all the appropriate measurements to be at hand.

There is now enough consensus among policymakers and academic observers to start discussion of what we will need in the future (1) to see where matters now stand as we set out to improve the situation and (2) to see whither we are tending. A few specifics will be set forth to stimulate such discussion.

- While it is perfectly acceptable to maintain traditional labor force statistics on youth for consistency and completeness, those measures need considerable supplementation.[8] As consensus grows that education is a combination of real experience and schooling, the traditional "labor force" concepts have less meaning. What we want to know is how many youth are getting experience and what kind they are getting. While work for pay may be the most prevalent form of experience, it is not the only kind. In arranged work experience programs there are as many who argue that pay should not be involved as there are who argue that it should. If experience opportunities are to become sufficient, much greater reliance will have to be placed on those activities traditionally bearing the "volunteer" label, and greater reliance will have to be placed on local public service opportunities--termed "community internships" by Willard Wirtz. The career education movement is developing "work exploration" as early as the junior high school level, so that what might be called experience shades off into what is meant to be familiarization with the variety of jobs that exist in the American economy.

What this means is that our statistics must capture the experience component of education, in such a way as to understand what these different kinds of experiences are and how much the opportunities are growing. We should also know how many are in some way tied to the planned process of education as well as how many represent solely the efforts of the students.

Although it is not considered appropriate in regular labor force statistics to ask whether a person "wants" a job, as opposed to whether that person is actually looking for one, the distinction is more useful in the case of youth in school. How many experience opportunities we have should be compared with how many are wanted. Further, as the availability of experience opportunities becomes the concern of educational institutions as well as of the individuals in them, the surveys should include the institutions so as to determine unmet needs.

- It is remarkable that we have been so careful to count school enrollments and paid employment status and have given so little attention to training. "Training" obviously overlaps with enrollments in schools, where job skills are frequently taught, and with experience, where job abilities are frequently absorbed. Despite the overlap, there is a lot of job preparation that will not be included in schooling and experience counts.[9] School enrollment statistics include only regular schools granting high school diplomas and postsecondary degrees, excluding many private schools, apprenticeship programs, formal training programs provided by private and public employers, and public programs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act and other manpower programs. Schooling, experience, and training are the three means of transition from dependent status to adult worker, and training is hardly measured at all.

- While it would seem reasonable in statistical samples designed for the entire labor force to lump 16-to-19-year-olds together, and sometimes 16-to-21-year-olds, such would not be the case for special statistics designed to track the transition process. Although the early years of existence are when the explosion takes place in the development of cognitive capacities, it is in the 15-to-20-year-old period of life that there is acceleration in development in terms of entry into adult society. The search for a mate commences, independence from parents is asserted, employment relationships emerge, behavior patterns are tried on for size, and for most young people, some accommodation to the society created by those born before them is made. As parents around the age of 40 will testify, these changes occur at breakneck speed.

From the point of view of society, ages within this period also differ greatly. Special employment laws affect all youth under 18 but have greater impact on youth under 16. For employers--at least those using "adult" labor--youth under 20 or 21 are largely viewed as not ready for employment. The law, depending on the state, establishes the age of majority somewhere right in the middle of the typical age class of government statistics.

The point of all this is that the circumstances of youth vary greatly with as little as one year's difference in age, and the averaging of experiences across four to six years is not likely to reveal much that is useful about the transition process, which to such a large extent takes place *within* that four to six years. The record-keeping should begin at about the time when the assertion of independence from the family commences, and when serious efforts within education (and the larger community) should commence to provide learning experiences--say around age 14. It should continue until the age at which most define entry into adulthood, which would very likely be at age 21 if the matter were put to a vote. And the reporting should proceed at one- or, at the most, two-year age intervals.

- The major statistics covering this life span are for the "civilian noninstitutional population." Whether one is or is not in an institution seems to define the right to be counted in those statistics by which the health of the society is judged. When a 14-to-21-year-old spends a substantial period in a health, penal, or military institution, there is likely to be all the more reason to take the pulse of the transition process. It is not a matter requiring a lot of words. The facts are, however, that a significant proportion of the youth population pass through such institutions at some time in their lives, and the character of that experience may be a major factor in shaping the rest of their lives. Any report on the nation's youth in the terms suggested above--in fact, even in the terms already being rendered--ought to include all young people.

GETTING IT TOGETHER

There is now a long history of the federal government's talking about "the transition from school to work" and "bringing education and work into a closer relationship." In the early 1960s, federal attention was riveted on the high school dropout problem, "social dynamite," in the words of James Conant. It went unrecognized then that even high school graduates did not have regular jobs to drop into, unless they pursued college educations. The realization that those who had been born in the post-World War II baby boom were hitting the labor market focused attention on whether there would be enough jobs to absorb them. Both these developments steered attention away from the trends toward institutional separatism and the growing distance between the world of experience and the lengthened portion of life being spent in the classroom.

The matter of closer institutional relationships came under examination in the late 1960s in the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), the result of a mandate issued by the President in the 1967 *Manpower Report of the President*. The requested joint report was duly submitted and at the request of the White House, turned into specific action recommendations. A legislative proposal was drafted for a "Partnership for Earning and Learning" between Labor and HEW that would have required joint efforts by the two Departments. It never emerged from the Executive Branch.

In the early 1970s, at the initiation of the Secretary of Labor, another extensive policy development exercise was begun, with the participation--and eventual agreement--of the Department of Commerce and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Cabinet changes just before the matter was to be placed before the White House sidetracked that effort.

The President's speech at Ohio State University in August 1974, calling for a closer relationship between work and education and requesting the three Cabinet Secretaries to prepare an action plan for him, has so far resulted in nothing, although Cabinet-level memoranda have been publicized in the press. Again, several changes in the heads of the three Departments have occurred during this period, each time necessitating a pause for a new Cabinet member to come to grips with the work and agreements of his predecessor. At each step the interaction of White House and Office of Management and Budget staff, with the recommendations of the three Cabinet agencies, has worked to postpone action rather than to bring it about. The public, of course, is in no position to judge the reasons that action has not been forthcoming. Another important element, within the last year, is the existence of the National Commission for Manpower Policy, which has a strong interest both in the substance of the matter and the problem of coordinating activities among the federal agencies with the greatest involvement, all of whose heads are members of the Commission.

Thus far, cooperative effort at the staff level among the three Departments has been considerable in laying plans for what could be done, with a greater recognition of what they have the power to do based on some rather strong mandates in existing legislation and appropriation acts. The possibilities for a federally aided initiative still appear to exist. The history of the last seven or eight years being what it is, however, there is limited encouragement for supposing that ad hoc joint planning efforts depending on implementation by officials here today and gone tomorrow are going to result in very much. If the forces of institutional separation are so strong among federal Cabinet agencies that joint effort in the interest of smoothing the transition to adulthood is seriously hampered,[10] it only underscores how much the state of affairs has been allowed to drift in a direction not at all favorable to the nation's youth.

Hard as it may seem, the only workable arrangement is likely to be in having each of the three Departments give up a bit of its institutional sovereignty in order to create something in which the pieces are fitted together. If organization of the federal establishment continues to be around client groups and professional establishments, as it seems likely to be, accommodations will need to be found that depart from both past practices and traditional principles of federal administration. At present, federal organization mirrors the situation at the local and state levels, where forces are increasingly centrifugal. The Commerce Department reflects the disinterest and noninvolvement of the business community in education affairs, although with some recent inclinations to do otherwise. The Department of Labor has settled in to defining manpower policy largely as whatever a CETA prime sponsor thinks it is, usually meaning training and public employment for the disadvantaged, all of which does not include any restructuring of basic institutional relationships, although there are recent indications of a clear intent to do more. The Labor Department's new National Occupational Information Service has required the participation of state education departments, and represents a new initiative based on collaboration. The Office of Education has a large amount of autonomy to carry out legislative mandates. Although career education is still largely an idea of educators to be implemented in the classroom, it has extended itself into employment and community in its advocacy of the actual exploration of careers outside the school grounds. The National Institute of Education is clearly interested in local collaborative arrangements and has made a major contribution with its Experience-Based Career Education models.

What may work better than these somewhat isolated efforts is the creation of a mission and a small staff by the three Cabinet Departments, but operating outside any one of them. The staff director should be accountable to the responsible Cabinet Secretary or Secretaries and should receive operating funds and specific delegations of authority from them. Some such arrangement has probably been discussed within the Executive Branch; no claim of originality is here advanced.

The purpose of this combined effort would be to increase the number of participants involved in the process by which youth achieve adulthood, to bring about an interlocking of the institutions that youth have to negotiate, and to draw out resources now dormant in the community. This aim would very likely be best realized by the government's providing some, but not all, of the funding for local projects (of the kind suggested earlier), organized with some element of local initiative and nurtured but not controlled by government. It would, without doubt, require sensitivity and a sense of balance for government to spark change without igniting the tendency toward government programming and control.

A staff under the direction of the appropriate Cabinet Secretaries with a mandate to operate without the blinders of clientele and professional representation would need the breadth of understanding to realize that it could not--indeed should not--be totally freed from these concerns. Subunits of each of the three Cabinet agencies have been charged by the Congress and their Department heads with specific--and legitimate--functions. It is neither necessary, desirable, nor likely that a czar could assume line direction of their activities. Rather, the lines of power should be clear enough to allow the achievement of cooperation; what is wanted is that the agencies carry out their responsibilities with greater collaboration with others and that they contribute their share toward a goal pursued in a locality by a number of individuals and institutions, rather than just one. The government cannot organize wholly around function, or at least that type of organizing has not proved achievable in the past. Certain goals, however, cannot be achieved with the separation that results from clientele lines of organization, the present basis on which HEW, Labor, and Commerce have been assigned their duties. Therefore, some blending of the two is called for. Needless to say, this blending is worth doing carefully, with an attention to stability that goes beyond a dependence on a continuation in office of all the Cabinet Secretaries, Under Secretaries, and Assistant Secretaries present at the creation.

CONCLUSION

The situation of youth today in the transition to adulthood is to be found as much in examining what we do with our affluence as how we suffer deprivation; as much in thinking through the prolongation of childhood in which youth are kept from adulthood as in pushing youth onto the factory floor too soon, as we did earlier in the American industrial revolution; as much in the success of developing huge professional institutions, going their separate ways, as in muddling through with amateurs and suffering the privation that went with smallness of schools, businesses, and towns; and as much in the perfection, sophistication, and continuity of our statistical measurements as in the chaos that results from changing them.

The emphasis here has been on the possibilities of a helpful federal initiative, because that is the responsibility of those who commissioned these papers. This emphasis led quickly to the problem of marriage between federal concern, analysis, and financial resources and community initiative. The necessity for collaboration among the federal power centers was posed as at least one precondition for success. . . or for courting the communities, for that matter.

Any problem of breakdown in the youth transition raises a question of society's continuation. Any aid that federal policy and money can provide depends for success on clear recognition of federal limitations as well as capabilities; and the same willingness for cooperation--collaboration--among its disparate organizations that it must ask of states and communities.

NOTES

1. See James Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Science and Technology, Executive Office of the President, June 1973) for a thorough analysis of historical trends.

2. Except, of course, during depression periods like 1975.

3. See particularly the studies of Diamond and Bedrosian, Gavett (Bureau of Labor Statistics), and the National Manpower Institute. The results of these and others are summarized in "Youth Unemployment and Career Entry," by Barton, contained in *Labor Market Information for Youth*, edited by Seymour Wolfbein.

4. See particularly the work of Jerald Bachman and Project Talent.

5. BLS has made more recent projections of the labor force, but not by race, because new population projections by race are just becoming available. The 1970 projections are out of date, since labor force participation rates for black males and females are running substantially below those projected for 1975 back in 1970.

6. Many of the Comprehensive Training and Employment Act (CETA) programs try to get at this problem, but in inadequate numbers and with little attention to the kind of experience that really helps in the job market. "Public service employment" seems not to be gaining favor; some form of "community internship" shaped at the local level may have to be tried.

7. The purpose and function of Community Education-Work Councils is treated at considerable length in *The Boundless Resource* by Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute (1975).

8. A respectable argument can be made for replacement rather than supplementation, and for the elimination of in-school teenagers from the national labor force measurements.

9. For a full development of the concept of the "training force," to parallel the "labor force," see *A Critical Look at the Measuring of Work*, by Willard Wirtz and Harold Goldstein (National Manpower Institute, 1975).

10. This recognizes, of course, that federal--or even state and local government--effort is only a limited part of what must also be a private and community affair.

CHAPTER 2

THE YOUTH LABOR MARKET

Marcia Freedman

In the transition from school to work, if the major question is posed in terms of preparation, employment, or "opportunity," then the "answer" is cast in terms of training, job creation, or equal rights. What is lacking in these problem-prescription relationships is an appreciation of underlying secular trends, now exacerbated by demographic and cyclical factors. It is the thesis of this paper that the difficulties experienced by young workers are reflected in a rising age of occupational establishment, which in turn rests on an informal but highly effective rationing system that favors mature white men in the distribution of stable, protected employment. Of course, there is more to it than that, but formulating the issue in this way should lead, at the least, to a broader perspective for policy at a time of pressures created by a large youth cohort in an unfavorable economic climate.

The succession of generations--what has been called the socialization of successive waves of barbarians[1]—has always been problematical. When this enterprise is looked at with hindsight, the 1950s and the 1960s, although they seemed replete with pitfalls and discontents, may well have been a golden age between the rigors of depression and war and the relative deprivations of the current and coming decades.

The parental generation of the fifties and sixties experienced the depression as children, World War II as young adults, and the alarms and excursions of McCarthyism, Korea, Vietnam, assassinations, Watergate, energy crisis, and a faltering world economy in their maturity. Nevertheless, they had what may turn out to be unparalleled opportunities to become established at work, because they were a relatively small cohort that came of age in a time of sustained economic growth. Since expectations are colored by experience, the way things were for the parental generation becomes the "normal" state. To see what is new, therefore, it is important to make explicit that portion of history that has been transformed into assumptions.

The most general of these assumptions in the period after World War II were (1) a young man, after "finishing" school, would go to work full time (or enter the military service); (2) at some time in his twenties, he would marry and "settle down," in due course raising a family and assuming responsibility for their support as well as his own; and (3) a young woman would also go to work and remain at work until the birth of her first child. Although she had the option to seek work once again if adequate child care were available or when the children were in school most of the day, as a wife, she was not expected to earn the major living for the family.

The two major points in this process were getting married and, for the men, adopting a line of work, an occupational or industrial attachment that served to identify their particular places in the economy and the society. During the fifties and sixties, about 60 percent of all jobs in the economy produced sufficient earnings for family support;[2] the 40 percent that did not were intermittent or part-time jobs filled by young workers, mature women, and to a lesser extent, mature males from minority groups. This mixed labor force was peripheral, not in the sense of being unnecessary, but rather as a group with low wages, short job tenure, high turnover, and interchangeable members.

Traditionally, we have expected that the transition from school to work for men without professional credentials would be characterized by a period of job-changing and, finally, movement into those sectors suitable for the assumption of the responsibilities associated with maturity. In this major pattern, women are "secondary" earners, contributing to family money income in important ways but not in need of the same protection from competition in the market as are men.

Social origins remained influential in determining occupational status. There was a significant amount of intergenerational mobility, but most of it involved short social distances.[3] The ranks of professionals and salaried managers, although greatly expanded, remained relatively small; and the movement of individuals into these top strata was greatly overshadowed numerically by the movement of farmers and farm workers into industrial employment. At the same time, worker groups in occupations at all levels were engaged in actions designed to strengthen their entitlements. In a typically American style, characterized by pluralism, bargaining, and trade-offs,some groups opted for higher formal training requirements, accreditation, and licensing, while others concentrated on the advantages of seniority systems and hierarchical internal labor markets. Some even lobbied together with their employers on behalf of tariff protections and industry subsidies, and all made determined efforts to expand health, unemployment, and retirement benefits.

The resulting fragmentation created not only a wide spread in wage rates but also a complex network of security and benefit arrangements tied to the job rather than to the worker as individual or family member. Certain benefits--unemployment and workmen's compensation--varied by state, but within localities and industries there was even more variation. The result was that while some families, for example, had no coverage for hospitalization expenses, others with two earners were covered twice.

PATTERNS OF SUCCESSION

The common experience of men as they moved from unprotected to protected employment was *intra*generational mobility. Entry jobs more often signified the beginning of full-time participation than they did positions on the first rung of a career ladder, even in the loosest sense of the word "career." For most men, therefore, the "transition" was a period of search and of trial work. The end of the transition occurred after age 25, and for white men at least, the successful substitution of employment shelter for more traditional forms of mobility is reflected in the research finding that between 1962 and 1972, the net shift in status for the 35-to-44 cohort was a negative 0.79 on the Duncan scale, accompanied by a real income gain of $1,454. Even more interesting is the fact that 72 percent of this increase could not be explained by intercohort shifts in social background (which did account for 9 percent), educational attainment (10 percent), or occupational status (8 percent).[4] The authors designate this large residual factor "opportunity," and, indeed, worker groups did create opportunities for enhancing the jobs they had when other avenues of advance were closed.

We know that this pattern of succession did not work to the benefit of all groups in the society, most noticeably for minorities. As we shall see, a number of changes--in the size of the youth cohort, in the age of marriage, in the number of children and the timing of their births, and in the patterns of labor market demand--many of them related in complex ways, have complicated and in some cases undermined the system of transition.

One of these shifts, in process since the beginning of the century, is the rising age of full-time entry into the labor force. It is not true that the economy does not need the labor of its young work force, but it is true that "youth" is an aging category.[5] The census has removed 14- and 15-year-olds from its regular count of the labor force; the vast majority of 16- and 17-year-olds are in school and not in the labor force. Nevertheless, workers under 25 years of age are an important part of the labor supply. From the employers' point of view, they have filled those jobs necessary to supplement the "permanent" work force, without the fixed costs attached to long tenure and elaborate benefit plans. During the sixties, this type of job accounted for approximately 10 percent more of the occupational structure than it did during the fifties, providing jobs considered suitable for the young (and for female "returners"). Although problems remained, the employment system was relatively in balance, since the relatively small cohort of mature males were at the same time finding and improving their career opportunities.

The labor force under 25 may be differentiated in several ways--by further age breaks, by school enrollment, by sex, by race, by the percentage holding part-time jobs, and by unemployment rates, to list the most obvious. The significance of these categories can be judged by reviewing the annual special labor force report on school-age youth based on data gathered each October.[6] In October 1974, the youth labor force numbered about 21 million. Of some six million enrolled in school, 13 percent were unemployed; of those at work, 82 percent had part-time jobs. Both the proportion of part-time workers and the unemployment rate were lower for the 20-to-24 cohort than for the teenagers. Female unemployment was two percentage points higher than that of males, but black youths in school had 2½ times the unemployment rate of whites.

The part-time labor force made up of students is, by and large, an American phenomenon. In Europe, students are subsidized; in the United States, where the number of students is greater, there are more at work and more unemployed. Their participation rates are lower than that of nonstudents of the same age and are less sensitive to local market conditions. They often find summer and part-time employment through personal contact with relatives, family friends, or the educational institutions in which they are enrolled. High student unemployment rates show that a significant number will continue to seek work (or are between jobs), but the more common response to lack of immediate opportunity is not to participate.

While part-time work prevails among students, full-time labor force participation and school enrollment are linked in a more complex fashion. Across labor markets, unemployment rates and school enrollment vary together. When employment opportunities increase, a sizable group of 16- and 17-year-old boys leave school in response; thus, the participation rate of the youngest cohort of out-of-school males is more sensitive to local labor market conditions than is the participation rate of students.[7] All the factors that make it harder for out-of-school youth to find jobs not only discourage their participation but also act to encourage those who are still younger to stay in school. This sensitivity practically disappears at the time of leaving school. Males are expected to work, or to continue to look for work, in hard times as in good times. In 1974, the lowest male participation rate among recent high school dropouts was 87 percent. One may speculate on the activities of young men (numbering about 300,000) not in the labor market or school: they may be discouraged workers or may be expressing a reservation wage rate; they may be supported by others or living at the margins of illegality. In any case, they constituted only 2 percent of the male civilian noninstitutional population.[8]

It is generally accepted that part-time or casual work generates income (and perhaps, secondarily, beneficial socializing effects) to meet student needs but that it does not necessarily have career significance, nor is it likely to. In contrast, once young workers are out of school, a different set of standards is invoked. While the distinction may reflect a true difference in the value attached to work by the individuals involved, the biggest difference is in hours of work: students are largely part-time workers; out-of-school youths either are or would like to be full-time workers. But the similarities in the jobs held by young workers, whether part-time or full-time, are greater than the differences.

One thing young workers have in common is brief tenure. In the words of the most recent survey, conducted in January 1973:

> In ages under 25, men and women had worked about the same length of time for a single employer, the majority for a year or less. In these ages . . . many are still in school and hold temporary jobs while others no longer in school may be working on their first regular jobs.[9]

After 25, tenure begins to rise sharply for men and less steeply for women; the majority of men have by then begun to find their way into protected jobs. The women, although some have long tenure, are more likely to remain in the flexible sectors of the market.

THE YOUTH LABOR MARKET

The typically brief job tenure of young workers reflects the interaction between the sectors where they are concentrated and their own job-shopping tendencies. The 1970 census provides data on the work force under 25 in sufficient detail to make these connections more explicit. Although these data are for all young workers, they are more representative of nonstudents, who make up about 70 percent of the youth labor force.[10]

Table 1 presents, for industry and occupation, an "index of inequality" by age. The index was constructed by expressing the percentage of all young workers in each sector as a ratio of the percentage of mature workers in each sector. Where the proportions are equivalent, the index is 100.[11] The method has the virtue of controlling for differences in shares of employment by sector. The table also gives total employment and young worker employment in absolute numbers. Overall, it shows the concentration of young workers in the least structured sectors of the labor market.

Industry Representation

Over a third of the young workers in printing and publishing in Table 1 are "sales" workers.[12] Newsboys, who are included in this classification, account for most of the overrepresentation of youth in this industry. However, nonoffice clericals (such as proofreaders) and operatives (such as bookbinders) are also included. If printing is discounted, it is clear that manufacturing is the province of mature workers.

Communications is the single exception to the general rule that mature workers dominate in sectors suitable for life long careers. Employment in this industry is dominated by the Bell System, which has a unique pattern of recruitment and training. Until a few years ago, this pattern was conventionally defined in terms of male and female jobs. Young men were typically brought in, trained for entry craft jobs, and retrained for promotion. Young women were recruited as telephone operators and customer representatives, but with far fewer opportunities

Table 1

For Industries and Occupations

Index of Inequality[a] by Age, 1970

(Numbers Employed in Thousands)

Industry	Index	All Ages	<25
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	82	2340	385
Mining	56	570	74
Construction	66	4304	599
Furniture and Wood Products	80	994	161
Primary Metals	71	1159	167
Fabricated Metals	76	1444	225
Machinery	83	3957	675
Transportation Equipment	71	2307	345
Food and Kindred, Tobacco	73	1474	221
Textile and Apparel	48	2247	363
Printing and Publishing	159	1315	377
Chemicals and Petroleum	67	1163	167
Other Manufacturing	90	2799	509
Trucking and Warehousing	59	1116	144
Transportation	54	1523	186
Communications	162	1035	295
Utilities	67	1013	139
Wholesale Trade	79	2835	457
Retail — Nondurables	182	6793	2112
Retail — Durables	100	1966	388
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	116	3596	792
Producer and Legal Services	97	2439	473
Health Services	109	4120	864
Education, Welfare, and Nonprofit Services	109	7246	1537
Restaurants, Hotels, and Motels	203	2899	963
Other Consumer Services	113	4052	873
Public Administration	52	3952	453
Total		70,675	13,944
Occupation			
Professionals	62	7308	963
Semiprofessionals and Technicians	77	4439	706
Managers	22	8000	408
Office Clericals	113	6381	1948
Nonoffice Clericals	179	5914	1702
Sales Workers	165	4920	1068
Craftsmen	65	8677	1206
Operatives	95	12646	2393
Laborers	206	4114	1386
Service Workers	144	8276	2164
Total		70,675	13,944

[a] The percentage of employed who were <25 in a particular sector divided by the percentage of employed who were ≥25 in that sector.

for promotion. The advent of affirmative action modified the system to the extent of encouraging equality of opportunity, both at the point of entry and within the internal labor market. The important point here, however, is that a large industry with standardized operations could, and did, establish a formal system for bridging the gap between school and work. Even in this operation, however, which might be considered a model of transition, young men are more likely to be 21 than 18 before gaining entry.

The biggest single employer of young workers is the nondurable retailing sector. Unlike jobs in the other sectors of trade--the retailing of durable goods and the wholesale sector--the majority of jobs in groceries, gas stations, and clothing stores require little knowledge of the product. With the growth of self-service, nonoffice clericals--cashiers, checkout people, stock clerks, and attendants -- have increased in number. What is more, these are jobs familiar to young people. Almost all children accompany adults who go shopping, and whatever else one might say about the isolation of the young, stores are familiar places of work in a consumption-oriented society.

Finance, insurance, and real estate (FIRE) has a large youth representation, three-quarters in clerical jobs. These are concentrated in insurance and, to a lesser extent, in banks; they are the classic jobs of young women. Particularly in insurance, there has been no career expectation on the part of either the employer or the employee, and companies have been known to welcome relatively short tenure and high turnover rates as a way of obviating discontent and the need to provide schemes for upgrading of long-service employees.

The health industry has also been a large employer of young workers, again heavily weighted toward female-labeled jobs. Half of the workers are in service jobs--the licensed practical nurses, aides, and kitchen and cleaning personnel that account for a large measure of hospital employment. An additional 20 percent are clericals, a category that expanded rapidly with the introduction of third-party payments and the concomitant increase in paperwork.

The category "restaurants, hotels, and motels" employs twice the proportion of the young worker population as it does of the mature worker population. Again, jobs in this category are familiar youth jobs, low-paying and with little permanence. The same can be said of "other consumer services," a category combining certain repair, laundry and dry cleaning, barber and beauty shop, entertainment, and private household services.

Occupational Representation

The indexes for occupation in Table 1 reflect what has already been said about industries: clerical, sales, laborers, and service workers are more likely to be young than mature. In line with the typically low level of entry and the higher requirements for physical endurance, laborer jobs have always been the province of youth. These jobs have been steadily decreasing in absolute numbers, and as they have done so, the connections between them and more stable, better-paid employment have been weakened. Insofar as these have been transformed into operative-type jobs, some young workers have moved into the "operatives" category. An obvious example is in the mechanization of materials-handling, which has made forklift operators out of roustabouts. For operatives' jobs in general, young workers come close to parity. Since the category is large and disparate, it comprises the largest number of jobs for workers of all ages. Because it combines so many occupations, it is not informative unless the industry sector is specified. Those industries where young workers make up more than 20 percent of operatives' employment are much the same as the ones mentioned earlier. The bulk of young operatives, however, are spread over the manufacturing sector, some in entry jobs attached to promotional ladders and some (particularly the women) in dead-end categories such as bookbinding, electronics assembly, and sewing-machine operatives.

Young service workers are concentrated in service industries, with almost 2 million in health, education, restaurant, and other consumer services sectors alone.

Among white collar workers, the young are important in retail sales but pre-eminent in many clerical occupations. Workers under 25, predominantly women, are overrepresented among office clericals in all but two of the industry divisions appearing in Table 1--agriculture and durable retailing. They are also overrepresented among nonoffice clericals in 15 industries--five in manufacturing. In nonmanufacturing, the largest numbers are in communications (telephone operators) and in both retailing sectors (cashiers, etc.), in FIRE, and in education.

If the 27 industries and 10 occupations of Table 1 are cross-tabulated, the result is a 270-cell matrix. The zero-order correlation of the percentage of young workers (<25) in each of these cells and the percentage holding full-year jobs is -.67, and the correlation with mean annual earnings is -.71. These relationships reflect the disproportionate allocation of young workers to low-earning positions in the occupational structure, in sectors dominated either by part-time jobs or low-paying full-time jobs.

With demographic characteristics as the independent variables, almost half the variance in annual earnings between these cells is associated with age. The statistical program used in the analysis (Automatic Interaction Detector) divided the cells into eight groups of jobs. Table 2 shows the major cells in each group, the ratio of each group's earnings to overall mean earnings, and the dominant demographic cohorts. Young workers, as might be expected, dominated the three lowest groups, where annual earnings were less than three-quarters of the grand mean.

Table 2

Ratio of Automatic Interaction Detector
Group Mean Earnings to Overall Mean Earnings
and Dominant Demographic Characteristics,
1976

Rank	Group Composition	Percentage of Civilian Labor Force	Ratio to Mean Earnings	Dominant Demographic Characteristics
1	Professionals--19 Industries; Managers--15 Industries; Salesworkers--Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	11.5	1.92	Mature White Male
2	Semiprofessionals and Technicians--Public Administration; Managers--Small Median Establishment Size Industries; Nonoffice Clericals--Public Administration; Salesworkers--Wholesale Trade	8.7	1.40	
3	Professionals--Education; Semiprofessionals and Technicians--15 Industries; Salesworkers--Durable Retailing; Craftsmen--Machinery	11.6	1.18	White
4	Managers--Agriculture; Craftsmen--17 Industries; Operatives--Trucking and Warehousing, Other Transportation, and other Consumer Services	13.5	1.06	Mature Male
5	Operatives--Most Manufacturing; Service Workers--Education	17.3	0.90	
6	Office Clericals--All Industries; Semiprofessional and Technicians--Health; Nonoffice Clericals--Some Nonmanufacturing	13.0	0.70	Young Female
7	Operatives--Retail Trade; Laborers--19 Industries	9.5	0.65	Young Nonwhite
8	Nonoffice Clericals and Salesworkers--Nondurable Retailing; Operatives--Textiles and Apparel; Serviceworkers--Health, Restaurants and Hotels, and other Consumer Services	14.9	0.47	Young Nonwhite Female

Other data, not reproduced here, showed that as young workers and mature women were making disproportionate contributions to the labor force during the sixties, there was a concomitant increase in the jobs typically associated with them. Furthermore, the advantage of years of schooling, which had been attached to baccalaureate degrees, became a function of post graduate training (17-plus years of schooling), and there was a discernible tendency for high school graduates and college graduates to share the same occupational market.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

If the past were simply extrapolated, the young workers populating this labor market could expect, in time, to move up, with the probabilities high for white males, less for black males, and even less for females. The improved position of young black families during the sixties led many observers to forecast continued movement toward parity of income and position as discrimination died a natural death with the demise of its older victims.

The economic, social, and demographic events of the seventies produced some rude shocks to this system. The entrance of an extraordinarily large cohort into a depressed market had some predictable results. Quite apart from issues relating to job quality, about 3.7 million youth--divided equally between teenagers and those in their early twenties--were jobless in the second quarter of 1975. Youth in these age groups comprised one-forth of the civilian labor force but almost half of all unemployed workers. In addition, there were 370,000 discouraged workers, among whom blacks, teenagers, and women were overrepresented.

Teenagers remained more subject to unemployment than were older youth, but relative differences between older and younger youth, which had grown narrower before the recession, continued to decline. The ratio of unemployment rates, teenagers to older youth, was 2.1:1 in 1967. It declined to 1.7:1 in 1971 and 1972; in the second quarter of 1975, it was 1.5:1.

Although older youth were disproportionately affected in the recession by layoffs, the narrowing of the gap was also influenced by the great increase in the size of the 20-to-24-year-old cohort, which accounted for 95 percent of the growth in the labor force under 25 from 1973 to 1975.

The unemployment rate went down as years of schooling went up for both teenagers and older youth. In 1975, the lowest rate was 6.3 percent for college graduates 20 to 24 years old.[13]

The persistent narrowing of the gap in unemployment rates between the two age groups even before the recession supports the notion of an aging young work force. With the recession, it is apparent that many of those who had found a foothold in better-protected sectors rejoined the youth labor market with all of its risks. It is also probably true that the better educated continued to exert downward pressure on the less educated.

In the meantime, there has been a long-time upward trend in the labor force participation rate of women. There is a significant body of opinion, emanating in part from the women's movement, seeking to further equal rights for women, not only at work but also at home. The American Assembly report, "Women and the American Economy," for example, called for far-reaching changes in institutional arrangements within the family, the educational process, and employment, so that society might "gain the full measure of women's potentials, acquired skills, and competence."[14] The fulfillment of these goals, as of other social desiderata, depends on a high employment level. But equal or not, more and more women are working. Among the young, women accounted for 70 percent of the growth in the 20-to-24-year-old labor force and for all of the growth in the teenage labor force in 1973 and 1974.

Young women are staying in the labor force longer, and those who drop out when they have children return earlier. In 1974, just over half of all women with children under 18 were employed. These trends are related to patterns of marriage and fertility. Since 1973 the marriage rate has declined and the divorce rate has increased. General fertility reached an all-time low in 1974. Insofar as current patterns can be extrapolated, it seems likely that the fertility rate will stay at its historically low level. Even though the large cohort of women presently at the child-bearing age is resulting in steady population growth, each family will remain small. The 1974 total fertility rate, for example, indicates a completed family size of 1.9 children per woman.[15]

The observable tendency to postpone child-bearing and the small size of families is related to greater labor force participation. Whether as cause or effect, the increase in the proportion of young women available for employment is the obverse of the decrease in their proportion of housewives and mothers. Insofar as women fill the demand for conventionally labeled female jobs, the limit to their participation seems to be the level of demand; insofar as they aspire to occupational equality, they will constitute an additional pressure on the supply of protected employment, a problem complicated by the fact that those women most likely to achieve equality are least likely to have children or be the heads of households. A small number of families may be the prototypes of the future--a couple with children where the wife holds the better job with respect to pay, benefits, and security, and where the husband combines secondary employment with a share of the household activities.

The point here, however, is that whatever the patterns of the future, the mere fact of low fertility means a larger labor force competing for both "good" and "bad" jobs and a further rise in the typical age of occupational establishment.

The difficulties faced by young workers in getting established involves both contradiction and paradox. Families in this society are expected to provide for their children, to see them through the transition to maturity. The major responsibility placed on the (typically male) head of the household makes it natural for him to seek as many job protections as possible. The "well-established family" with "average inventories of clothing, house furnishings, major durables, and other equipment," for which the Bureau of Labor Statistics supplies standard budget estimates is a family with a never-ending stream of obligations that requires a steady stream of earnings. The cost of launching the next generation has steadily risen. By 1900, the idea that education had a future cash value was already well established;[16] as the century progressed, schooling became the major inheritance to be passed along while the parental generation was still alive. Together with the house and the car, the elongated period of support of children has been a major factor in the return of mature women to the labor market, where many compete with the younger generation for relatively unprotected jobs. Meanwhile, the very protections built around the better jobs in the economy serve to minimize effective competition from new cohorts of entry workers.

In the seventies, families have apparently been willing to maintain or even increase their investments in the schooling of their children, despite evidence of falling returns.[17] After a brief period of decline college enrollments showed a 9 percent increase from 1974 to 1975.[18] Although some of the increase was due to a record-size senior class, most of it was a response to poor job prospects and a result of the growing belief that specific vocational preparation is the way to secure employment, a belief reflected in the fact that the greatest growth was in two-year community colleges and among part-time students at both two- and four-year institutions. Any field, like accounting, that seems to hold promise for expansion becomes a magnet for students, who are presumably encouraged by their families to make the best of what is available.

The same belief has apparently also given new respectability to high school vocational courses, and there are reports of far greater selectivity for admission, in contrast to the unfavorable image of these courses only a few years ago.

While families are seeking ways to maintain or improve the lot of their children through more and better preparation for work, the advantages of kinship, family connections, and location have by no means disappeared. What is called labor market information often turns out to be differential access to particular employment opportunities. One such advantage grows out of residential suburbanization. Among males, workers under 25 make up a larger share of employment in suburbs than in cities. For females, the opposite is true: cities offer more employment opportunity, probably because of the identification of young women with office occupations. For both men and women, entry jobs in the cities are higher paid than in the suburbs because of the concentration of jobs in the local sector involving trade and consumer services.

Although we expect retailing and certain low-wage branches of manufacturing to receive a disproportionately large share of young persons entering the labor market, their accumulation in these sectors can only be relieved by a concomitant growth in better jobs to which they can, in a sense, graduate.[19] Thus, the suburban advantage for young men may well be limited by the absence of opportunity for upgrading and establishment. Nevertheless, insofar as early work experience is helpful in locating a better job, suburban young men have an advantage in building an employment record.

In a more general way, we know that most workers find their jobs by direct application or by information supplied by family, relatives, and friends. Not unexpectedly, this is true to an even greater extent among young workers. When they were asked how their current (January 1973) job was obtained, 34 percent of workers aged 16 to 24 replied that they had applied directly, and an additional 30 percent replied that they had asked friends and relatives.[20] These two major types of information obviously depend on locational advantages--visible employers and membership in a family circle with connections to the larger world of work. The absence of such advantages is a major factor in the isolation of inner-city youth and constitutes a significant, operational aspect of the discrimination they suffer.

SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS

What are the implications of the data viewed from the vantage point of the occupational maturation of young workers?

First of all, it seems clear that the large youth cohort seeking entry into the labor force at a time of high unemployment rates has had a depressing effect on the rate of establishment. For every young person whose maturation is delayed, there is the likelihood of downward displacement--that is, 25-year-olds are getting and keeping jobs formerly the province of younger workers, with the younger, less well prepared, and less experienced finding it even more difficult to find any kind of work.

Second, we know that the size of the 18-to-24 year population cohort will continue to increase for the next five years and to decline only gradually thereafter. Meanwhile, the 25-to-64-year-old population increased dramatically in 1970, mainly among the younger subgroups; insofar as this group is now entrenched in the better jobs, attrition rates will be low and opportunities for new aspirants will be fewer.

Third, there is some agreement that recovery from the recession, even with significant economic growth, may not lower the unemployment rate in the near future. While crystal balls are notoriously clouded, the danger of alarmism is small: there has been concern about the transition from school to work for over ten years, in good times as well as bad. The programs that are likely to emerge from this long-time preoccupation will at best address long-standing weaknesses. One of these is the unevenness of social welfare protections referred to earlier. As long as security is tied to employment, and to particular employment at that, the inequities suffered by the unemployed and the underemployed cannot be redressed.

For the youth population, new programs and improvements in those already in place have for some time been in need of better integration and less age-grading. If in fact the society cannot have all of its choices, a decision has to be made about priorities. Good transitional programs, for example, require adequate and patient supervision. The "barbarians" will not be socialized unless their work has a purpose and those in charge take that purpose seriously. Breaking in new workers is expensive, but even for enterprises that could afford the expense or that are offered subsidies, it is also a potential nuisance. There is very little incentive from a conventional microeconomic point of view to extend the organization in such undertakings at a time of labor surplus and of competition between mature women, for example, and young workers.

In the public domain, programs that have segregated young workers have tended to end in transfers of income and not much else. If funds should become available to ease the burden of unemployment, it would be more fruitful to emphasize projects in which workers of all ages could join for the accomplishment of specific objectives. The socialization benefits would be greater and the work experience more instructive. Furthermore, individual effort and positive attitudes are hard to maintain in a vacuum; those young people who would otherwise be unemployed or underemployed need an opportunity to keep their skills and motivation alive until more permanent places become available. No single project will serve to socialize all young people and connect them to the activities of the larger society. Nor is it likely that sufficient resources will be available to incorporate all those who need employment that is not being provided by the economy. What can be accomplished, however, is the design of projects that can incorporate a mix of ages and educational levels where older workers can teach and supervise and younger ones can learn and gain experience.

NOTES

1. Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, *Youth: Transition to Adulthood.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 45.

2. Unless otherwise specified, the data in this paper came from Marcia Freedman, *Labor Markets: Segments and Shelters.* (Montclair, N.J.: Allanheld, Osmun, forthcoming 1976).

3. Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, *The American Occupational Structure* (New York: Wiley, 1967), p. 119.

4. Robert M. Hauser and David L. Featherman, "Socioeconomic Achievements of U. S. Men, 1962 to 1972," *Science* 185 (July 26, 1974): 325-31.

5. For an excellent historical review of this phenomenon and of age-grouping in general, see Panel on Youth, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, sec. 1.

6. Anne McDougall Young, "Students, Graduates, and Dropouts, October 1974," *Monthly Labor Review* 98 (August 1975): 33-36.

7. William G. Bowen and T. Aldrich Finegan, *The Economics of Labor Force Participation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 429.

8. Young, *op. cit.*,

9. Howard Hayghe, "Job Tenure of Workers, January, 1973," *Monthly Labor Review* 97 (December 1974): 53-57.

10. Only the employed are included in the discussion that follows. In 1970, the 1/1000 sample used in the analysis produced about 14,000 workers under 25. For the levels of disaggregation required, this group was best treated as a whole. The data are not only more representative of nonstudents but also of the 20-to-24 age cohort that constitutes almost three-quarters of nonstudent young workers; it is important to keep in mind that 16- and 17-year-olds were only 3 percent of the nonstudent labor force.

11. For example, total employment in agriculture was 2,340,000. The 385,000 young workers were 2.3 percent of all young workers, while the 1,955,000 mature workers were 3.4 percent of all mature workers: 2.8/3.4 x 100 = 82, the index number in the table.

12. The data on the occupational distribution within industries referred to in this discussion come from an occupation-industry matrix, not presented here for lack of space.

13. Janice Neipert Hedges, "Youth Unemployment in the 1974-75 Recession," *Monthly Labor Review* 99 (January 1976): 49-56.

14. The American Assembly, Columbia University, *Women and the American Economy*, Report of the Forty-ninth Assembly, October 30-November 2, 1975.

15. Richard T. Curtin, "Recent Fertility Trends in the United States," *Economic Outlook USA* 2 (Autumn 1975): 8-9.

16. Panel on Youth, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

17. Richard B. Freeman, "Overinvestment in College Training?" *The Journal of Human Resources* 10 (Summer 1975): 287-311.

18. The National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

19. The data and their interpretation are from Thomas M. Stanback, Jr., and Richard Knight, *Suburbanization and the City* (Montclair, N.J.: Allanheld, Osmun, forthcoming 1976).

20. Carl Rosenfeld, "Job Seeking Methods Used by American Workers," *Monthly Labor Review* 98 (August 1975): 39-42.

CHAPTER 3

CORPORATE HIRING PRACTICES

National Commission for Manpower Policy

Staff Report on

Data Furnished by Three Large Corporations

In the early summer of 1975 the National Commission for Manpower Policy, as part of its study of youth school-to-work transition problems and work establishment processes, requested the cooperation of three major private-sector employers to explore in some detail their experiences with young workers as well as the quantity and quality of employment and work experience opportunities available to youths in their organizations. What was sought was a better understanding of employer experience with, and perceptions of, young workers and a clearer focus on youth access to jobs with career attributes.

The three participating companies are among the largest in their industrial sectors--manufacturing, utilities, and retail trade--with an aggregate employment of roughly 1 million. The companies are not representative of total private-sector employment, notably in their greater ability to screen job applicants carefully with regard to work experience and educational qualifications, in the extent of their built-in training opportunities for employees, and in the size and organization of their internal labor markets.

The atypicality of the companies and the modest size of the survey sample do not favor interpretation of the findings presented here as representing conditions prevailing across the private sector, nor necessarily in the companies' respective industrial sectors, in which overall youth employment has been in distinctly different proportions--high (retail trade), low (utilities), and moderate (manufacturing)--in recent years.

The participating companies were asked to respond to a series of questions that sought to clarify the following kinds of employment behavior toward, and on the part of, youth:

- The extent of youth hiring that has been going on in recent years among large employers in the represented industries.
- How particular groups of youth--minorities, young men, young women, early school-leavers--have fared with large employers during nonrecessionary periods.

- How youth learn about and seek employment.

- The kinds of jobs for which the young workers were hired.

- The opportunities available within the large companies to young workers for skills training, further education, and income advancement.

- How youth are viewed by employers with respect to job performance; on what basis these judgments are made; and whether and to what extent employers' judgments affect their policies and practices with respect to hiring, training and promoting young workers.

- The presence or absence of any special attitudes toward youth on the part of unions, and the effect such attitudes have on company involvement with youth.

- Company perceptions of federal and state laws and regulations pertaining to youth; and how and in what ways these laws and regulations affect, and are seen to affect, company policy and practices with respect to young workers.

- The extent and nature of and the basis for employer involvement with schools in such programs as work-study and summer employment.

- The presence or absence of company policies relating to youth hiring and to cooperation with schools, and the effect on youth employment and work experience opportunities of such policies or the lack thereof.

These questions and the interest of key management people in the issues under consideration involved a substantial commitment of company staff time. The efforts yielded a rich body of statistical and anecdotal information, of which only a small portion could be reported on in this paper. The information supplied has added to the Commission's understanding of youth employment issues and concerns, and along with the information from several other recent studies has sharpened its perspective on the policy implications suggested by the findings.

The final section of this paper reports in some detail on the employer responses to these questions. In the following two sections a summary of the major findings and the policy implications suggested by these findings are presented.

It is important to restate the caveat that these findings are not represented as reflecting prevailing conditions in the industrial sectors represented. In several instances, the findings from the report confirm those of recent reports pertaining to youth employment opportunities and on-the-job behavior. In several other instances, these findings are at variance; and this is particularly the case with respect to the extent of youth hiring by large employers. A number of recent studies[1] have demonstrated that youth are, by and large, excluded from jobs with career attributes (adult-type jobs) until age 20 or 21. The preponderance of evidence suggests that this is the prevailing condition, the findings from this study to the contrary notwithstanding.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

- Youths 16 to 21 constituted a surprisingly high proportion of total new hires in each of the surveyed companies. Between 35 percent and 47 percent of total new hires were in this age group.

- The large majority of new youth hires in the 16-to-21 age group were in the 18-to-21 range; they represented that larger proportion of the youth population that are out of school and available for work full time.

- The male/female composition for the overall sample was nearly evenly divided, but there were substantial differences between companies, with females representing 20 percent of new youth hires in the manufacturing company, and 80 percent of new hires in the utility company.

- Hiring among minority youths is substantial, ranging from 12 percent to 30 percent across the companies surveyed.

- The high school diploma seems to be a highly valuable asset in obtaining employment in a large company although there are significant differences among firms in this respect.

- The substantial majority of new youth hires were hired into families of jobs where there appear to be clear and recognized lines of progression.

- The substantial majority of new youth hires had the same access to training and employer-supported study (the latter applicable in two of the three firms) as did new adult hires in the same positions.

- Additionally, substantial numbers of youth workers appear to utilize such opportunities as tuition-supported study programs.

- Generally speaking, there were no major differences between young workers and adult workers in the objective data provided regarding on-the-job performance.

- Two firms had explicit personnel policies and practices that generally encouraged the hiring of youth by local operating units of their companies, and these firms were the most substantial users of young workers.

- When these major findings are looked at from a cross-industry vantage point, the following differences are the most notable:

  — The manufacturing company, which has the highest on-line starting wage and the highest overall average hourly earnings, appears to be the *least* extensive user of young workers; appears to be the most seriously affected of the three employers, because of the nature of its work, by federal and state child labor laws and regulations, but is less concerned with the high school diploma as an entry standard; is less committed to formal training; reports a less favorable perception of youth workers' comparative job performance abilities; and appears to be less extensively involved in summer employment and work-study programs.

  — The utility company, which has the next highest starting wage and average weekly earnings, appears to be the heaviest user of young workers (especially young women) for full-time employment; has the most substantial commitment to training; appears to be substantially affected by state and federal child labor laws and regulations in one large occupational category.

  — The retail company, which has the lowest starting wages and lowest average weekly earnings, is the heaviest user of youth employment overall and especially of 16-to-17-year-olds, including high school students; has the highest proportion of part-time employment; is most consistently involved in summer employment and work-study programs; is least affected by federal and state child labor laws; and is best structured to accommodate student workers.

- The objective and subjective information provided did suggest that young workers had slightly higher absenteeism and quit rates. We also must point out that entrance-level and low-wage jobs tend to produce this kind of behavior, irrespective of the characteristics of the jobholder.

- The limited information available indicates that most young workers find jobs in large companies by word of mouth, most frequently from employees and school guidance counselors. The Employment Service, as other studies have repeatedly shown, is responsible for only a minute portion of referrals among this age group.

- Although evidence is mixed, it appears that in large companies, federal and state child labor laws and regulations do not have as negative an effect on youth employment and work experience opportunities as is frequently presumed.

- The extent of company involvement in special youth summer employment and work-study programs varied markedly from firm to firm and depended primarily on business climate. Participation in such programs seems to be based generally on corporate social responsibility, although for two companies such programs are used extensively as recruitment mechanisms during times of company employment expansion.

SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The impressions and understandings emerging from this look at the quality and quantity of work experience opportunities in the large company, based on employer experiences and perceptions, permit some tentative policy speculation:

- The high proportion of young workers hired gives a clear impression that young workers are not substantially inferior to adult workers on the job and that the major obstacle to more employment and work experience opportunities for youth is the shortage of overall jobs in the economy.

- The hours and conditions of work provisions of federal and state child labor regulations and the complexity and diversity of such laws do limit youth employment and work experience opportunities. Mere clarification and simplification would clearly serve to improve youth opportunities. But as several other studies[2] of the effects of these laws have indicated, the net employment effect on youth and work experience opportunities of such action will very likely be modest.

- Even where opportunities exist for high initial wages (in the case, particularly, of the manufacturer) or for potentially rapid promotion (as in the case of the utility company), there are high rates of voluntary turnover among youth workers. The process of work establishment involves a high measure of experimentation, and the notion that by matching young school-leavers with jobs possessing clear career possibilities and high wages, one can "solve" the problem of youth unemployment, or at least guarantee a smooth transition to adult careers, seems to miss the mark.

- The presumption that young people are substantially excluded from access to entry-level jobs with career attributes in large companies does not seem to be valid. Some companies want and need young workers, actively recruit them, and are prepared to expend resources to train them.

- Summer employment and work-study programs provided small numbers of youth with excellent opportunities for entry into full-time employment with large companies. But as a major device for providing bridges between school and career-entry employment, such programs are significantly underdeveloped and underutilized. Employer interest in such programs seems generally to stem more from a "social responsibility" rationale than from recruitment needs. The role of such programs in the youth establishment process in the years ahead seems to be largely determined by the overall tightness of labor demand, and only marginally by program restructuring or substantially greater funding.

- The role of public employment services in the job search process for young workers appears to be insignificant; this fact holds true even during periods of tight labor markets and deserves serious attention.

DETAILED ANALYSIS OF CORPORATE RESPONSES

Extent of Youth Hiring

Youth aged 16 to 21 constituted a high proportion of new hires among the three companies in recent years. Youth hires in the manufacturing company during the period 1972-73 averaged roughly 35 percent of all new hires. In the utility company during the period July 1972-July 1975, youth hires averaged 45 percent of total new hires. In the retailing company for the period 1972-74, youth hires averaged 47 percent. (In each instance where data were provided, the percentage of youth hires declined slightly between 1972 and 1974, irrespective of aggregate employment growth or contraction.)

Characteristics of Youth Hires

There were substantial differences between companies in the age/sex/race and education characteristics of their youth hires and, in aggregate, substantially better representation of 16-to-17-year-olds, females, and minority youths than anticipated.

Age. Two companies (utility and retail) reported with new youth hire data factored by age groups (16-17/18-21). In the utility company, 95 percent of new hires were 18 to 21; in the retail company, 75 percent of new hires were 18 to 21.

Sex. Sex differences among new hires were most pronounced on an interindustry comparison basis. In the manufacturing company, females represented approximately 20 percent of new youth hires; in the retail company, approximately 60 percent; and in the utility company, approximately 84 percent.

Race. In the manufacturing company, black (nonwhite) youth constituted approximately 25 percent of new youth hires; in the utility company, approximately 30 percent; and in the retail company, approximately 12 percent.

Education level. The data suggest, although there are differences between firms, that the high school diploma is a credential seriously considered by these employers. One firm (utility) did not have data pertaining to the education level of new hires. The education distribution among new hires 16 to 21 in the retail firm finds 74 percent with a high school diploma or higher; 24 percent in school (secondary and post-secondary); and 1.7 percent high school dropouts. For the manufacturer, the education distribution of new hires finds 96 percent of salaried and 82 percent of hourly workers (new hires) were high school, technical school, or apprentice graduates or higher. The remaining 4 percent of salaried and 18 percent of hourly workers included dropouts and workers still in high school.

Sources of referral. Only one company had detailed data on sources of referrals. The retail company reported that 4 percent of new youth hires were walk-ins; 13.8 percent were employee referrals; 8.6 percent responded to advertisements; 14 percent were referred by school guidance departments or distributive education coordinators. The Employment Service was responsible for slightly less than 1 percent of the referrals.

Youth Opportunities in Internal Labor Markets

The participating companies were asked a series of questions that sought collectively to elicit a picture of the qualitative aspects of the employment that youth are hired for and that they have access to in the first several years of employment. Not much purpose is served by trying to distinguish sharply between good jobs and bad jobs, especially when psychological needs and rewards are factored into the equation. What was sought from the questions posed, and what is meant here by the phrase "qualitative aspects of employment," is the extent to which the jobs that youth were hired for or have access to, in the first few years, possess all or several of the following attributes:

- Earnings opportunities at or above the assured statutory minimum hourly wage level.

- A degree of job security commensurate with that of adult workers with equivalent length of service with the company.

- Formalized and discernible lines of career progression opportunity.

- Training or supported education opportunities and favorable recognition by employers of participation in these activities in promotion considerations.

The participating companies were requested to submit information on the following questions:

- For what opening positions were youth hired?
- Were new workers assigned to any formal training programs? For what length of time?
- Are new workers eligible for tuition-supported study? How many avail themselves of the opportunity?
- Are there regular opportunities for advancement during the first and second years?
- What would the average young worker's wage gain be after 12 months? After 24 months?

Opening Positions. The overwhelming majority of youth 16 to 21 were employed in entry-level jobs in the operative, sales, office clerical, and laborer occupations, and at the lower jobs within each occupation, as was expected. Those companies reporting by age indicated that youth 16 to 17 were far more highly concentrated in the lower-skilled, lower-paid jobs.

Workers 16 to 17 were also far more likely to be in part-time positions. Data from the retail trade company showed the following breakdown for 16-to-17-year-olds and 18-to-21-year-olds, respectively:

Full-time regular	19%	40%
Part-time regular	58%	46%
Part-time on call	8%	6%
Seasonal	15%	8%

A similar distinction was reported in the reason for turnover data submitted by the utility firm. There are significant income and job attachment implications in the division, since part-time employees are not entitled to many of the fringe benefits of full-time workers, and, of course, have fewer weekly hours of work.

A substantial part of the difference, as reported by the retail company, is the high proportion of students in the 16-to-17 age group who seek to accommodate employment with regular school attendance.

Training. Training opportunites, both formal and on-the-job, appear to increase with age, and with the level of the job held. This pattern seems to prevail across the companies in this survey.

The limited data developed from this survey suggest that young workers and adults in the same job category have equal access to training opportunities but that new youth hires are more likely to be employed in lower-level jobs.

The quantity, quality, and kinds of training that young workers received in the companies surveyed varied considerably by company and category of worker. Looked at from the perspective of company emphasis on training for new workers, the information submitted indicates the heaviest commitment to training--and, consequently, more highly structured and formalized training--in the retail company and the utility company, in that order.

The manufacturing company provides "brief orientation plus immediate on-the-job instruction" for all new employees. There are no formal training programs for new hires in either the hourly or salaried occupations.

The utility company provides formal training for workers in operative, clerical, and semiskilled craft positions, the positions into which most new workers, youth included, are hired. For operatives, formal job-related training ranges from 5 to 10 days for the entry positions, into which 60 percent of the youth workers are placed, and up to 20 days for senior positions. For the semiskilled craft workers, formal job-related training ranges from 5 days to 15 days for the craft positions, into which 9 percent of the youth workers were hired, and up to 40 days for the senior positions in the semiskilled craft occupations. Persons in clerical positions, into which 28 percent of new youth workers are placed, receive on-the-job training. Persons seeking employment in clerical positions requiring typing or shorthand skills are expected to possess such skills. Exceptions are made, and company-supervised formal clerical skills training provided, to those under special disadvantaged hiring programs.

Training programs in the retail company are the most elaborately structured. Formal training is provided to all personnel in sales and sales support and to service employees and management trainees--positions covering approximately 60 percent of new youth hires.

All employees receive a basic regimen of 2½ hours of formal orientation and 4 hours of product control. Sales employees operating cash registers receive 8 hours of formal training on the machines. Sales and sales support personnel receive department or basic training ranging from 1 hour to 15 hours, and "many" receive cross training in two or more departments. Sales support personnel, including clerical/office workers, receive 11 hours of store office training and 9½ hours of credit training.

The retail company also provides advanced training for employees who have completed orientation and departmental and special training and who have demonstrated on-the-job performance. Workshops are conducted averaging from two to five days, in regional training centers. Analysis of the employment data suggests that the training provided most youth hires aged 16 to 21 is limited to orientation and basic departmental training, averaging a total of about 15 hours. Those youth in custodial positions and other noncareer grid positions receive substantially less.

Employer-Supported Study. Supported study represents an alternative means--formal training being another--for employees to meet the job qualifications requirements of higher-level employment, for advancement within companies and careers.

The extent to which young workers have access to and make use of employer-supported study in the three companies surveyed could not be determined with any precision. The evidence available suggests the following:

- Where such programs exist, young employees have the same access to such opportunities as do adult-age workers in similar jobs and with similar time in grade (title).

- Where such programs exist, young employees make substantial use of the opportunity.

Formal tuition-supported study programs are available to workers in the manufacturing and utility companies surveyed and do not exist in the retail trade company.

In the manufacturing company, any seniority employee or union-represented employee, hourly or salaried, including apprentices on the active duty rolls of the company, is eligible to apply for participation in the tuition-supported program. (Approximately 2 percent of the total hourly work force and 11 percent of the total salaried work force take advantage of the supported-study opportunity.)

In the utility company all full-time workers are eligible to participate in a tuition aid plan. Among the youth workers in this company, most of the full-time employees are 18 to 21 years old. The plan provides for reimbursement for approved courses successfully completed at an accredited school. Significant variation exists among operating units of the company in the extent of nonmanagement employee utilization, ranging from 1.1 percent to 5 percent. In one operating unit that examined participation by age, it was found that 43 percent of the users were under 21 years of age.

Opportunities for Advancement. The participating companies were asked explicitly to examine the question of youth workers' opportunities for advancement within the companies. Although there are numerous dimensions to the question and the answers are not definitive, management perceptions of such opportunities were considered important.

In general, development, recognized job linkages, and career grids are important elements in these firms--as are the size of the firm, general promotion policies (employment from within, seniority systems), and access to skills development opportunities (training, supported study)--for the youth workers' actual and perceived opportunities to progress.

Employer responses all indicated that young workers had advancement opportunities equal to those of adult workers in the same jobs or with the same time in grade. The responses varied in their elaboration on this point, and are best relatable anecdotally.

In the manufacturing company, where the vast majority of youth hires are hourly workers and are unionized, their opportunities for advancement within the nonmanagement ranks are determined largely on the basis of seniority and work force attrition or growth; the same opportunities as pertain with adult employees.

In the utility company, a new plan was initiated in recent years that permits all nonmanagement employees to be considered for any other nonmanagement position they desire, whether the move involves an upgrade or a lateral transfer. The employee must meet basic skill requirements of the job requested and meet time-in-title requirements. Time-in-title requirements range from 6 to 24 months and depend on the training period associated with the present job held. Job descriptions and requirements are posted. Supervisory counseling on career objectives is provided. Extensive use is made of this plan.

In the retail company, seniority does not condition advancement opportunity. Employer promotions are based on ability and job performance. A highly developed career ladder and elaborate promotion grid system exists. Promotion opportunities include one-step advancement in the same area (for example, salesperson to catalogue salesperson) and one-step advancement to another area or to a position several levels above the present position. Advancement opportunities also exist for a few employees (most frequently, college graduates) to move into management trainee positions and subsequently into management ranks.

Average Wage Gain. Wage increases affect employee perceptions of quality of employment and also affect job attachment. Of concern was obtaining some clearer indication of the cross-industry differences and adult/youth differentials within firms. In the manufacturing company, average wage gains for all workers with similar seniority is approximately 5 percent after 12 months. The average wage gain during the second 12 months is 8 percent yielding a 13 percent cumulative wage gain over 24 months. (Base rates of pay and average weekly earnings are highest in this company.)

In the utility company, the average wage gain for all regular employees with similar seniority is 9 percent after 12 months and an additional 9 percent during the second 12 months, yielding an 18 percent cumulative wage gain over 24 months.

In the retailing company, the average hourly wage gain during the first 12 months varies slightly between 16-to-17-year-olds and 18-to-21-year-olds, amounting to 7.3 percent for 16-to-17-year-olds and 8 percent for 18-to-21-year-olds.

Given the higher proportion of youth workers (particularly 16-to-17-year-olds) in part-time and seasonal employment with the company, these figures suggest a substantial difference between annual youth worker wage gains and annual adult employee wage gains; and the figures substantially understate the difference in annual wage gains between 16-to-17-year-olds and 18-to-21-year-olds.

Youth Job Performance Characteristics

The participating companies were asked a series of questions designed to elicit a better understanding of how young workers compare on the job with adult workers in several dimensions of job performance and productivity. Turnover and absenteeism data were requested, and the companies were asked to examine whether young workers evidence any special traits in their work behavior.

Data on turnover and absenteeism are maintained by age by only one of the participating companies, the retail trade company. The other companies had data based on length of service. Although there are noticeable differences between companies, as noted below, the quantitative and anecdotal evidence suggests that overall youth job performance characteristics are not substantially different from those of adult workers.

Turnover. The companies were asked to report on the turnover rate at the end of one, two, and three years and were asked to examine the causes of the turnover as reported, for example, in exit interviews.

The manufacturer had youth turnover data for salaried workers but not for hourly workers. Among salaried workers, turnover during the first year averages 4.8 percent of the youth salaried work force; 2.5 percent in the second year; and 2.0 percent in the third year. Based on a survey of operations personnel managers, the company reported that turnover seemed high among youth assigned to hourly rated production jobs.

Information on the causes of turnover was limited. Again, based on an informal survey of operations personnel managers, the manufacturing company reported that quit rates (voluntary separations) were higher among this youth group. Although not directly stated, the anecdotal information that was furnished, suggested that disciplinary actions, including company initiated separations, are higher for the youth group in hourly jobs as well. (See the special traits section below.)

The utility company reported that no data existed upon which to identify turnover rates or differences between youth and adult workers. It did note that turnover is higher among shorter-service employees. (Based on a random sampling of first-line supervisors in one operating unit, the company reported that workers under 21 tend to have a higher turnover rate overall than those over 21.)

Data pertaining to causes of turnover were more detailed in the utility company. The company reported that with respect to dismissals (involuntary separations), there were no noticeable differences between younger and older employees. The primary reasons for voluntary turnover among employees 16 to 17 are (1) return to school and (2) work completed (indicating that a substantial number of the 5 percent of new hires 16 to 21 in the 16 to 17 age group were hired for a specific project or period of time, such as summer employment or work-study programs). Among the 18-to-21-year-old group, the primary reason for turnover is "return to school," followed by resignation because of dissatisfaction with job assignment; resignation because of "hours" (work hours/days required by the job); resignation because the employee "leaves city;" and job termination because "work is completed."

The retail trade company reported turnover rates for youth 16 to 21 at 48.8 percent of the youth work force after one year; 34.4 percent after two years; and 6.3 percent after three years. Of the total group of youth hired in 1972, 10.6 percent were still employed by the company after three years. These rates, however, are only slightly higher than for adults over 21. The largest difference came after two years of employment, with a 34.3 percent rate for youth as compared to 28.3 percent for over-21 employees. (Turnover rates for youth and adult employees in 1973 and 1974 were lower.)

With respect to cause of turnover, resignation was the principal factor, accounting for approximately 70 percent of youth hired in 1972. The majority of youth resignations were for "non-company-related personal reasons," "better pay or opportunity outside," and "to change type of work."

Company-initiated separations accounted for the majority of the remaining turnover--approximately 15 percent over the three-year period 1972-75. The major category of company-initiated separations involved reductions in force as the economy worsened in 1974, accounting for 80 percent of company-initiated separations. This category was followed by ***summary dismissals*** for job abandonment and violation of company rules; ***discretionary dismissals*** for "not meeting company standards;" and "excessive tardiness or absence."

Data provided by age groups indicated interesting differences as to cause of turnover. Data for 1974 showed that a higher proportion of 16-

to-17-year-olds had been terminated to reduce the work force (19.8 percent, compared with 10.7 percent for youth 18 to 21). A higher percentage of the 18-to-21-old employees resigned (72 percent and 63 percent respectively).

Absenteeism. The manufacturing company did not have absenteeism data factored by age. An informal survey of selected operations personnel managers conducted by the company suggested that absenteeism rates were higher for young workers in the hourly group.

The utility company also did not have absenteeism data factored by age. The company examined absenteeism data by length of service. It found absence from work was of greater incidence among newer employees than among long-term employees. In one department study in 1969, it found during the period studied that incidental absence was 2.7 percent of scheduled work days; and while employees under one year of service composed 36 percent of the work force studied, they were responsible for 63 percent of incidental absence. The company concludes, however, that based on available data, the correlation between age and absenteeism cannot be established.

The retail company based its report on youth absenteeism on the results of a survey of store managers. The company reported an average absenteeism rate of 4.2 percent for young workers in the stores surveyed. A majority of store managers reported no difference in the rate for youth and adult workers. Of those who reported a difference (38 percent), there was an even distribution between those who observed lower absenteeism rates for young workers and those who observed higher rates for young workers.

Special Traits and Other Dimensions of Job Performance. This section sought to draw out more subjective information from the companies pertaining to how young workers are seen to compare with older workers on the job. Restated, the explicit question was: "Do young workers evidence any special traits in their work behavior?" (This question was reformulated in subsequent conversations with two of the participating companies to ask: "Are there noticeable differences in the job performance ability between young workers (16 to 21) and older workers, where younger and older workers perform the same tasks? If so, what are they?")

The utility company reported that it possessed no data on performance differentials as a function of age and that operating units that were surveyed indicated no evidence of noticeable differences.

The manufacturing company reported from a survey of personnel managers that supervisors feel young workers have "difficulty in accepting authority, difficulty in accepting the regimentation of factory life (starting/quitting times, and daily routine in general), and social life conflicts with job demands such as shift work." The company went on to report that "supervisors feel youth workers are more difficult to work with because they tend to fail to follow instructions, get into more fights, disregard work rules, and are less willing to work overtime." Commenting on these differences, the report noted that although "youth generally do not exhibit such behavior during the initial weeks of employment, they seem to be easily and quickly influenced by their peer group."

The retail company developed a detailed survey instrument that sought to measure store manager feeling about youth job performance ability in ten dimensions: communications skills; accuracy in using basic math skills; skills in using machines associated with the job; ability to work with others; ability to follow instructions; responsibility and ability to follow through; motivation and desire to get ahead; attitude toward job; concern for productivity; and overall quality of work results. Older workers were rated superior by a majority of managers in all areas but two: skills in using machines and ability to work with others. The most extreme differences between young and older workers, as reported by the store managers, related to responsibility and ability to follow through, attitude toward job, concern for productivity, and overall quality of work results.

Company Policies and Union Perspectives on Youth Employment

The participating companies were asked whether they had explicit or implicit policies to encourage the hiring of youth, and whether the unions represented in their companies evidence any special attitudes toward young workers. Together with information on the job performance characteristics of youth as reported above, and information regarding company involvement in cooperative programs with schools, the responses to these questions were considered to provide a clearer indication of company interest in youth as employees.

Each of the participating companies is, of course, subject to, and abides by, equal employment opportunity laws, regulations, and guidelines that prohibit discrimination in hiring and job assignments on the basis of age, sex, race, religion, and national origin.

Union Attitudes. Little elaboration was provided in the company responses to the question of union attitudes. (Although there has been no attempt here to outguess the respondents, some circumspection does seem to have entered into these replies.) Responses to the question of whether unions manifest any particular attitude toward youthful workers ranged from a flat "no" to "the company had no information to make judgments on this matter." In the retail company, which, as was indicated, has a small proportion of union bargained-for employees, there were no special attitudes indicated.

Affirmative Youth Hiring Policies. While information on this point is in no way precise, it appears that the utility and retail trade companies, which are the largest users of young workers, do have policies or practices that encourage the hiring of youth.

Although no specific policies exist in the utility company that encourage the hiring of youth, the company reported that each operating unit is actively involved in programs, primarily with local schools, that encourage youth to consider the company as an employer. The company reported that the education system is seen as possessing the largest pool of future employees.

The retail company has explicit employment guidelines that apply specifically to high school youth and that can reasonably be construed as explicit policies. The guidelines are contained in personnel procedures manuals, which represent instructions to store managers. These guidelines call upon the store manager to contact local school principals or guidance counselors to obtain students to "complete (store) staffing." They go on to elaborate on particular cooperative and work-study programs relevant to the retailing business. They note that these programs "provide excellent candidates for entry level positions."

Effects of Federal and State Laws and Regulations on Youth Hiring Policies and Internal Work Assignments

This survey did not examine in any depth the effect of various federal and state laws and regulations having to do with hours, types, and conditions of work. It sought only a sense of the importance of such regulations to employers' hiring and internal assignment policies. The question put to employers did not distinguish among the types of laws and regulations that apply.

The responses that were obtained indicated substantial familiarity with the range of laws and regulations, especially on the part of the utility and retail companies, which are the heaviest employers of youth. And although the full effects of such laws and regulations were not addressed in a quantitative way, the descriptive elaboration that was provided suggests that the complexity of these laws and regulations, including the variance between states, is of concern and encourages caution on the part of employers in hiring and internal assignment decisions.

In the response from the retail company, four provisions of federal and state regulations were referred to: (1) the nonhazardous work conditions (Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), Hazardous Work Orders, and state regulations apply), "which prevent hiring youth 16 to 17 for potentially *hazardous work* assignments such as operating conveyors;" (2) *hours of work* regulations (FLSA and state regulations apply) which "limit the number of work hours for youth and in some instances prevent them from working during evening hours;" (3) regulations pertaining to *job advertisements* (Age Discrimination Act), which prevent "advertising for youth workers in employment want ads because of age discrimination;" (4) minimum wage laws (state and federal), which as they cause wage rates to rise are seen "to tend to decrease employment opportunities for youth."

The utility company articulated the FLSA provisions affecting youth, focusing on the age, hours, school attendance, and nonhazardous work provisions; and stressed the problems presented by the complex of state and federal regulations affecting 16-to-17-year-olds. The company noted that several state and federal nonhazardous work provisions prohibit employment of youth 16 to 17 in four job categories, of which one category potentially affected opportunities for substantial numbers of 16-to-17-year-olds.

Company Involvement in Summer Employment and Work - Study Programs

In an initial questionnaire, the companies were asked to describe any company programs that involve cooperation with the schools, such as summer placements and work-study arrangements. The companies were also asked whether there was any pressure placed on them to do anything special to facilitate the hiring of young people. Initial feedback to these questions indicated that there was substantial involvement in such programs, and that schools and sponsors of summer employment programs for disadvantaged youth placed the major pressure on the companies for increased hiring and work experience opportunities for youth.

In a more complete exploration of this area, two of the participating firms were asked a series of supplemental questions that sought to determine what the rationale was for employer involvement; how employers rate the quality of the programs; how participants in such programs are seen to compare with other young workers; and to what extent the summer employment or work-study opportunities provide a link to subsequent regular employment.

The main findings can be summarized as follows: (1) all the companies were involved to a greater or lesser extent in a range of summer employment and work-study programs involving high school students and out-of-school youth; (2) the involvement in such programs was most extensive and most common company-wide in the utility and retail companies; (3) while involvement in these companies is undertaken for a variety of reasons, personnel recruitment and temporary work force augmentation are a significant rationale; in most programs, potential applicants are prescreened by school officials, and participants are selected from among the prescreened applicants; (4) the programs offer definite linkages to regular employment for those students and out-of-school-youth who perform well and who have interest in full-time employment; (5) where information was provided, young workers participating in work-study programs are judged by employers to perform better on the job than other youth employees in every dimension compared; (6) although overall numbers employed in such programs are small, they comprise a significant portion of the employment opportunities for 16-to-17-year-olds, and in one firm, they represent a substantial number of overall employees; (7) while there is a wide variety of programmatic forms, most operate with a coordinator in both the school (or the community organizations that sponsor applicants) and in the company, whose coordinator often serves as supervisor; (8) the programs were judged by the employers to be highly beneficial to the student and to the company; (9) while the majority of programs have been markedly curtailed since the onset of the current recession, others have continued at virtually full strength, 'with, however, lower postprogram placements in regular employment.

The manufacturing company was not asked to respond to the supplemental questions, since its report was substantially completed at the time. It did provide information on the variety of its programs and the extent of involvement in such programs. The company does not have a company-wide policy encouraging involvement in formal school programs. Its principal involvement with youth programs is directed toward disadvantaged youth under the National Alliance of Businessmen's (NAB) Disadvantaged Youth Program (summer employment). Local plants and facilities are involved on a regular basis with this program and are requested by the company to establish and meet program objectives set locally by the respective plants. Several individual organizational components are also involved in cooperative education programs and other summer employment programs aimed at minority and female youths.

The utility company reported substantial involvement in a variety of programs by its operating units around the country. The main programs involved were summer placement programs for minority youths, including the NAB Disadvantaged Youth Program; several types of cooperative education programs, including vocational and distributive work experience programs; work-study programs involving part-time year-round employment; internship programs for students with special skills in photography, journalism, and art; and adopted school programs involving company-sponsored training for which academic credit is given and guaranteed placements are offered upon successful completion.

While data on the proportion of program participants subsequently employed on a regular basis was not available on all of the programs, it appears that when hiring is taking place, between 65 percent and 100 percent of the students participating in cooperative work experience programs and some other work-study programs are subsequently hired as regular employees. A smaller proportion of summer placements are hired after completion of the program.

The retail company is involved in three work-study and summer employment programs, two of which are aimed at post-secondary-level students. The major program involving noncollege youth, and the largest overall program for the company, is the distributive education program, designed for students with career interests in the retailing field.

The survey conducted by the company of a representative sample of its stores nationwide found a 50 percent participation rate in this program, with larger stores in larger population areas participating at the highest rate (83 percent) and smaller stores in small communities participating at the lowest rate (40 percent). Based on the survey, the company estimates that over 4,000 distributive education students are employed by the company in any given year.

The retail company reports that an estimated 25 percent of the distributive education students are subsequently employed by the company on a regular basis.

NOTES

1. For a summary of these reports, see: Paul Barton, "Youth Unemployment and Career Entry," in *Labor Market Information for Youths*, Seymour Wolfbein, ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University 1975).

2. Note particularly William Delaney and Seymour Lesh, "The Transition from School to Work: A Study of Laws, Regulations and Practices Restricting Work Experience and Employment Opportunity for Youth," National Committee on Employment of Youth, Final Report to the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, June 1975.

CHAPTER 4

LABOR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF NONCOLLEGE YOUTH:

A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS

Herbert S. Parnes and Andrew I. Kohen

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the employment problems faced by youth as they enter the labor market are substantially mitigated merely by the passage of time, which brings greater maturity and experience as well as an ability to meet minimum age requirements imposed either by law or, more commonly, by employer policy. For example, among high school graduates who did not go on to college, unemployment rates in October 1974 declined monotonically from 16.3 percent among those 16 and 17 years of age to 6.4 percent among those 22 to 24. In the case of high school dropouts, the corresponding range was from 25.7 to 12.7 percent.[1]

This phenomenon makes it particularly useful to analyze the early labor market experience of youth longitudinally--that is, to examine the experience of the same sample of young persons as they age several years and to ascertain (1) in precisely what respects and to what extent their labor market position changes over time and (2) what characteristics are associated with high probabilities of improvement. In this paper we undertake such an analysis based upon data collected in the National Longitudinal Surveys (NLS) of the labor market experience of young men and young women.[2] More specifically, the focus of our attention is on male and female youth who in 1968 were between the ages of 16 and 21, who were not enrolled in school in either 1968 or 1971, and who were not college graduates--the latter exclusion being dictated by a desire to concentrate on those for whom problems of accommodating to the labor market are generally most severe. Almost 800 young men and about 1,300 young women from the NLS samples meet these requirements, representing approximately 2.3 million males and 4.2 million females in the civilian population.[3]

The following section of the paper describes in somewhat greater detail the characteristics of the NLS data and, in particular, the specific variables that are to be used in the analysis. In the third section, we

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describe briefly the net changes that occurred over the three-year period 1968-71 in a number of dimensions of the youths' labor market position, including their labor force and employment status, their occupational affiliations, and their earnings. With that as a backdrop, the fourth section presents a multivariate analysis of several facets of the youths' labor market situation in 1971--specifically their average hourly earnings, the socioeconomic status of their occupational assignment, and the incidence of unemployment during the preceding 12-month period. The object is to ascertain what characteristics of the youth have independent (net) influences on their labor market status.

In the fifth section, the focus shifts to a multivariate analysis of the *changes* that occurred between 1968 and 1971 in earnings and occupational status. Using substantially the same explanatory variables as in the analysis of 1971 status, the objective is to identify those characteristics of the youth that are associated with improvements in earnings and occupational status over the three-year period. The final section of the paper presents a brief summary of the findings and an exploration of their implications for policy.

DATA BASE, VARIABLES, AND METHODOLOGY

Although there is a difference in the timing of the annual NLS interviews with the young men and the young women (that is, November/December for males and January/February for females), and a difference in the calendar years in which the initial surveys took place (that is, 1966 for males, 1968 for females), the male and female subsamples selected for this study are fairly closely matched with respect to age and time of interview. Specifically, we define our universe so as to include those who were 16 through 21 years old at the time we first look at them (late 1967 for males, early 1968 for females). For convenience of exposition, the beginning and ending dates for both groups will be designated as 1968 and 1971, respectively. The NLS samples were deliberately designed to over-represent nonwhites (in a ratio of about 3 to 1) in order to permit reliable statistical analysis of racial differences. In this study, we focus exclusively on whites and blacks, omitting the small number of youth of other races for whom there are insufficient observations for confident generalization.

Dependent Variables

There are many ways of measuring the labor market achievements of young workers, six of which are used in this study. Average hourly earnings and occupational assignment on 1971 jobs, and unemployment experience in 1970[4] are used in cross-sectional analyses. Most respondents who were employed as wage and salary workers reported current earnings in hourly terms, although in some cases an hourly rate had to be computed from responses in terms of other time units. As a measure of occupational level, we employ the Duncan Index of socioeconomic status, which assigns a two-digit score (0-98) to each three-digit occupation in the (1960) classification system of the Bureau of the Census.[5] The 1970 unemployment experience is represented by means of a dichotomous variable coded "1" if the respondent experienced one or more weeks of unemployment and "0" if he or she did not.

Three additional dependent variables are the bases for longitudinal analyses covering the period 1968-71: change in hourly earnings, change in occupational assignment, and the likelihood of moving upward from a below-average occupational assignment. For the first of these, we use the percentage change in average hourly earnings. Change in occcupational status is measured by the arithmetic difference in Duncan scores (1971 minus 1968). Finally, for the young men, we investigate the probability of having "made it" occupationally between 1968 and 1971. That is, with the universe narrowed to those whose Duncan Index in 1968 was below average for this age-sex group, a dichotomous variable is used that is coded "1" if the respondent's Duncan Index in 1971 was above that average value, and "0" otherwise.[6]

Explanatory Variables

By and large, the explanatory variables are the same for each of the measures of labor market achievement.[7] These variables, and the distributions of male and female youth according to each of them, are shown in Table 1. To begin with, there are several personal characteristics that antedate entrance into the labor market. One of these is a measure of social class background derived from a continuous index of parental socioeconomic status based on five components: father's education, mother's education, education of oldest older sibling (if any), father's occupation, and availability of reading material in the home when the respondent was 14.[8] A second personal characteristic is a measure used to represent both general mental ability and the extent of labor market information possessed by a youth. This is a dichotomized version (high, low) of a continuous score on tests of occupational information, administered in the initial interviews.[9] A third characteristic is a combination of educational attainment and age (to reflect labor market experience). Although limited sample sizes preclude detail categories, we are able to subdivide according to age the two educational attainment categories that account for a large majority of the respondents: high school dropouts and those with exactly 12 years of schooling. The lowest educational category is quite diverse with respect to age; those who completed some college, however, are all at least 18 years old. Finally, as another measure of human capital we include a dichotomous variable that identifies the young persons who had participated in at least one formal postschool training program by 1971.

Two variables are used to reflect aspects of labor market behavior between 1968 and 1971 that are hypothesized to affect the 1971 level of achievement. The first is a measure of interfirm mobility ("comparative

Table 1

Percentage Distribution of Employed Youth 16 to 21 Years of Age, by Selected Characteristics[a]

Characteristic	Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black
Total number of respondents	372	208	369	168
Total percent	100	100	100	100
Education and age				
Less than 9 years: 16-21	12	21	3	10
9-11 years: 16-19	14	18	6	17
9-11 years: 20-21	13	16	4	9
12 years: 16-19	25	21	41	24
12 years: 20-21	28	18	34	32
13-15 years: 16-21	8	5	12	8
Training outside regular school, 1971				
Yes	47	35	50	31
No	53	65	50	69
Parental socioeconomic status				
Low	30	64	22	55
Medium	45	24	45	25
High	21	[b]	28	7
Not ascertained	4	12	5	13
Knowledge of world of work				
Low	35	75	49	72
High	65	25	51	28
Geographic mobility, 1968-71, and size of area				
Nonmovers: large area	22	24	30	32
Nonmovers: small area	41	47	42	44
Movers	37	29	28	24
Region				
South	31	68	29	58
Non-South	69	32	71	42
Marital status				
Married, spouse present	69	52	62	56
One or more children	--	--	28	43
No children	--	--	34	14
Never married	26	40	30	29
Other	5	7	8	15
Interfirm mobility, 1968-71				
Same employer	38	25	33	16
Different employer	57	64	40	43
NA (including not employed in 1968)	5	11	26	41
Class of worker				
Private	93	88	89	84
Public	7	12	11	16
Collective bargaining coverage				
Yes	36	43	18	34
No	64	57	81	66
Not ascertained	0	0	[b]	0

[a] Universe consists of respondents who were employed in 1971, who were not enrolled in school in either 1968 or 1971, who had completed fewer than 16 years of school, and who were interviewed at both surveys.

[b] Less than 0.5 percent.

NA Not available.

job status") that distinguishes youth who were with the same employer in 1968 and 1971 from those who had changed employers. The second is an interactive variable that identifies geographic movers between 1968 and 1971 and, for nonmovers, indicates the size of place of residence in 1971.[10]

In order to reflect some major differences in work environment, two additional dichotomous variables are included in the analysis. The first distinguishes youth working in the public (government) sector from those in the private sector. The second differentiates between young workers whose wages and working conditions are determined by a collective bargaining agreement and those who are not members of a bargaining unit. This variable, it should be noted, is not equivalent to the more conventional union/nonunion distinction, since as many as one-fourth of those covered by collective bargaining are not members of the union or employee association that bargains on their behalf.

Finally, there are several "control" variables used in one or more of the analyses. In every case we use a measure of marital status. For the young men it has three categories: married with wife present, never married, and all others. For the young women, the first of these groups is further subdivided according to whether they have any children, which serves as a crude indicator of those whose labor force participation was probably discontinuous.[11] Second, in all analyses of hourly earnings we include a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the respondent lived in the South, in order to control for well-known regional differences in wage and price levels and in industrial composition. Third, when changes in earnings and occupational position are examined, the base-year level of the variable is included in order to control for the regression-toward-the-mean phenomenon.

Method of Analysis

The determinants of early labor market achievement are explored by means of multiple classification analysis (MCA), a version of multiple regression analysis with all of the explantory variables expressed in categorical form. The MCA techniques permits one to calculate the mean value of the dependent variable for each category of a particular explanatory variable, "adjusted" for the effects of all other variables in the model. It is these adjusted mean values that are displayed in the tables presented in the fourth and fifth sections. Differences in these values among the several categories of a given variable may be interpreted as indicating the "pure" effect of that variable upon the dependent measure. To provide a specific example, the MCA technique allows one to calculate for each age and educational-attainment category of youth what the average hourly earnings would have been had the members of that category been "average" in terms of all the other variables entering into the analysis.

While each table shows the actual number of sample cases on which the data are based, all MCAs (as well as all percentage distributions and means) have been calculated on the basis of weighted observations in order to reflect differences in sampling probabilities.[12] Since it has been convincingly demonstrated that both race and sex are important independent factors influencing the labor market success of workers, and that the determinants of success differ according to these demographic characteristics,[13] all statistical results are displayed separately for each race-sex group.

NET CHANGES IN LABOR MARKET STATUS, 1968-71

As a backdrop against which to explore the factors associated with variations in labor market status and changes in status between 1968 and 1971, it is useful to describe the extent and character of the net changes that occurred over the period in the labor force and employment status, earnings, and occupational affiliations of members of the sample. Before these topics are examined, however, the substantial changes in the marital status of the youth during these three years should be noted. As indicated in Table 2, the proportions who were married and living with their spouses rose over the three-year period from two-fifths to two-thirds of the white males, from one-fifth to almost one-half of black males, from about one-half to three-fourths of the white women, and from one-third to one-half of the black women.

Labor force participation trends differed both by sex and race (Table 3). The likelihood of being in the labor force increased for males, although more so for whites than for blacks (2.9 versus 0.5 percentage points). On the other hand, participation by women declined, reflecting the changes in marital status that have been described. Among whites the decline was 8 percentage points; among blacks it was much smaller (1.2 points). Tabulations not shown here indicate considerable stability in the labor force participation of the men, as measured by consistency of status in the survey weeks of 1968 and 1971. Of those in the labor force at the earlier date, 98 percent of the whites and 96 percent of the blacks were also labor force participants three years later. Among the women, the corresponding proportions were much smaller: 67 percent for whites and 68 percent for blacks.

Changes in unemployment experience over the three-year period must be interpreted in the light of the substantial change in economic climate that occurred. Between 1968 and 1971 the (annual average) unemployment rate for the total labor force increased from 3.6 percent to 5.9 percent. For 18-to-19-year-old males, the rate increased from 9.7 to 15.0 percent; and for those 20 to 24, it rose from 5.1 to 10.3 percent.[14]

Table 2

Marital Status of Respondents,[a] by Sex and Race, 1968 and 1971
(Percentage Distributions)

Marital Status	Male				Female			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971
Married, spouse present	38	66	22	45	48	75	34	50
Never married	61	29	73	48	44	17	56	33
Other	1	4	5	7	8	8	10	17
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	491		287		903		395	

[a] Universe consists of respondents 16-21 years of age in 1968 who were not enrolled in school in either 1968 or 1971; had completed fewer than 16 years of school; and were interviewed at both surveys.

Table 3

Survey-Week Labor Force Participation and Unemployment Rates,[a] by Sex and Race, 1968 and 1971

Labor Force Status	Male				Female			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971
Number of respondents	491		287		903		395	
Labor force participation rate	94.1	97.0	94.9	95.4	64.1	56.1	59.4	58.2
Number in labor force	455	474	268	271	572	499	232	229
Unemployment rate	2.1	6.0	8.4	10.7	12.2	10.0	24.9	17.9

[a] See note a, Table 2.

For our sample of youth, the change in the incidence of unemployment over the three-year period differs substantially, depending upon whether one uses the unemployment rates measured in the survey weeks or the experience over the 12-month period preceding each interview. In the former case, the rates for the young men increased, while those for the young women declined (Table 3). On the basis of the 12-month records, on the other hand, the incidence of unemployment declined for the males and remained about the same for the women (Table 4). If one accepts the annual data as being less influenced by random fluctuations, the decrease in unemployment that occurred in the face of a deterioration in economic conditions signifies a very pronounced improvement in employment stability as the sample aged three years.[15]

For those members of the sample who were employed as wage and salary workers at both survey dates, average hourly earnings increased over the period by amounts ranging between 48 percent for white males and 37 percent for black females (Table 5). As a consequence of this pattern of increases, the earnings differentials by sex and race, which were substantial at the beginning of the period, became even larger. Nevertheless, all four groups enjoyed gains well in excess of the 16 percent increase in the (annual average) consumer price index between 1968 and 1971.[16] Moreover, even the relatively small (37 percent) increase registered by the black young women was 17 percentage points higher than the increase in average gross hourly earnings in the total private nonagricultural economy over the three-year period.[17]

Several aspects of the occupational distributions shown in Table 6 invite attention. To begin with, as would be expected because of age and limited education, the occupational distribution of these youth is

Table 4

Weeks of Unemployment 1967 and 1970, by Sex and Race [a]

(Percentage Distributions)

Weeks of Unemployment	Male				Female			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	1967	1970	1967	1970	1967	1970	1967	1970
None	76	79	60	71	76	77	65	64
1-4	13	10	18	10	16	12	16	23
5-14	8	7	17	12	6	7	11	9
15 or more	4	5	6	7	2	4	8	4
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	413		236		549		243	

[a] This table is confined to the universe described in note a, Table 1, with the additional restriction that all respondents spent at least one week in the labor force during each of the 12-month periods preceding the surveys.

substantially different from that of the total labor force. For instance, only 13 percent of the white male youth were in professional or managerial jobs in 1971, in contrast with 28 percent of the total male labor force. At the other end of the occupational hierarchy, 46 percent of the white male youth, but only 26 percent of all males, were operatives and nonfarm laborers. In the case of the young women, only one-twentieth of the whites were professional or managerial workers, as compared with about one-fifth of the total female labor force. Almost two-thirds of the white female youth were clerical workers, in contrast to only one-third among women generally.

Table 5

Average Hourly Earnings of Respondents Employed as Wage and Salary Workers, by Sex and Race, 1968 and 1971

Sex and Race	1968	1971	Percentage Increase
Male			
White	$2.27	$3.36	48
Black	1.77	2.58	46
Female			
White	1.83	2.60	42
Black	1.66	2.28	37

Second, there are profound differences in the occupational assignments of male and female youth that are even greater than the differences that prevail between the sexes in the total labor force.[18] Almost nine-tenths of the white women but only about two-fifths of their male counterparts are found in the clerical, service, and operative categories. Third, among both men and women there are pronounced differences between the distributions of blacks and whites. Almost two-fifths of white males, in contrast with 16 percent of the blacks, were professional, managerial, or craft workers; in the case of the young women, blacks were only half as likely as whites to be clerical workers but more than twice as likely to be operatives or service workers.

Finally, although the distributions do not change dramatically over the three-year period, there are clear evidences of improvement in occupational position for young men. Among both black and white males

Table 6

Occupation of Respondents[a] by Sex and Race, 1968 and 1971
(Percentage Distributions)

Occupation Group	Male				Female			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971
Professional, technical	6	4	0	1	5	8	6	4
Managerial	5	9	1	3	b	2	0	1
Clerical	9	6	5	9	64	64	36	33
Sales	2	5	1	3	4	2	0	7
Craftsmen	22	26	5	12	2	b	2	3
Operatives	34	14	42	37	10	11	22	24
Nonfarm laborers	12	8	24	20	b	b	0	0
Service	4	3	6	6	14	12	35	28
Farm	7	5	14	10	0	b	0	0
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	414		215		315		112	

[a] This table is confined to the universe described in note a, Table 1, with the additional restriction to those employed at the time of both surveys.

[b] Percentage is between 0.1 and 0.5.

there are increases in the proportions of craftsmen and managers and decreases in the proportions of laborers and farm workers. The changes among white women are much less pronounced; the sum of the deviations between the 1968 and 1971 percentage distributions is only 12 points for them, as compared with 23 for white males and 29 for black males. Black women experienced a more substantial net change in occupational distribution than did the whites. A decline in the proportion in service jobs and a corresponding increase in sales were the major changes.

DETERMINANTS OF LABOR MARKET POSITION: 1971

In this section we use multiple classification analysis to explore the sources of variation among the youth in several measures of labor market success: their average hourly earnings, the socioeconomic level of the occupational assignment, and the probability of their having experienced unemployment in 1970. For the analysis of hourly earnings and occupational assignment, the universe consists of members of the sample who were employed was wage and salary earners and for whom a measure of the dependent variable was obtained. For the unemployment analysis, the universe is somewhat broader, including all those who were in the labor force at least one week during the 12-month period under consideration.

Average Hourly Earnings

The MCA results for average hourly earnings are presented in Table 7. Before we examine the factors that are associated with variations in earnings within sex and race groups, it is interesting to note the substantial gross differences that prevail between women and men, and between blacks and whites within each sex group. Overall, the black-white ratio of average hourly earnings is .77 among males and .86 among women. The overall female-male-ratio of earnings is .75 for whites and .84 for blacks.

For all four sex-race groups, the variable that combines educational attainment and age bears a significant relationship with earnings. However, while education is systematically related to earnings in all cases, it is only among white males that age (experience) appears to make a substantial difference. To illustrate the effect of education, it may be noted that among white males the adjusted[19] average hourly earnings of teenage high school graduates are 6 percent higher than for teenage high school dropouts. Among men in their early twenties, the corresponding earnings advantage of the high school graduates is 10 percent.

These comparisons understate the effect on earnings of education alone, of course, since when age is controlled, high school graduates have had less work experience than the dropouts. It is this arithmetic relationship, which prevails among age, educational attainment, and work experience, that doubtless underlies the departure from monotonicity discernible in the first and last categories of the age-education variable. In any case, it is to be noted that within the two intermediate educational categories of white males there is a very pronounced relation between earnings and age. Among high school dropouts, young men in their early twenties enjoy a 12 percent earnings advantage over those in their teens; among high school graduates, the differential is even larger: 16 percent. Such age differentials do not prevail, however, among black men or among either racial group of women.

In addition to the education-age variable, there are two other "human capital" variables that are significantly related to earnings for at least two of the sex-color groups: training outside of regular school and interfirm mobility. Training imparts an earnings advantage of about 6 percent to white youth of both sexes, but is not significantly related to the earnings of blacks.[20] The interfirm mobility variable for this youthful group may be viewed primarily as measuring the influence of tenure in current job. Those who were with the same employer at the times of the 1968 and 1971 surveys had served in their jobs at least three years, in contrast with those who had changed employers and those who had not been employed at the earlier date. As a result of the influence of firm-specific training, as well as of institutional seniority rules, one would expect higher earnings among the first of these three categories. This

Table 7

Adjusted Average Hourly Earnings in 1971, by Selected Characteristics: MCA Results

(F-Ratios in Parentheses)

Characteristic	Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black
Education and age	(4.56)***	(2.23)***	(5.27)***[a]	(2.36)**[a]
Less than 9 years: 16-21	$3.04	$2.26		
9-11 years: 16-19	2.97	2.60	2.16[a]	1.92[a]
9-11 years: 20-21	3.36	2.41		
12 years: 16-19	3.15	2.70	2.51	2.27
12 years: 20-21	3.67	2.73[a]	2.49	2.19[a]
13-15 years: 16-21	3.46		2.86	
Training outside regular school, 1971	(3.28)*	(0.08)	(6.31)**	(0.04)
Yes	3.41	2.53	2.57	2.14
No	3.21	2.56	2.41	2.12
Parental socioeconomic status	(1.27)	(0.87)	(0.32)	(2.20)*
Low	3.27	2.60	2.42	2.08
Medium	3.30	2.46[a]	2.50	2.31[a]
High	3.43		2.52	
Knowledge o. world of work	(2.18)	(0.72)	(6.48)**	(1.67)
Low	3.19	2.52	2.39	2.09
High	3.36	2.63	2.58	2.22
Geographic mobility, 1968-71, and size of area	(8.22)***	(7.62)***	(8.15)***	(6.72)***
Nonmovers: large area	3.72	2.92	2.69	2.30
Nonmovers: small area	3.15	2.40	2.32	1.96
Movers	3.22	2.48	2.51	2.21
Region	(13.14)***	(22.18)***	(1.14)	(19.43)***
South	3.00	2.38	2.42	1.97
Non-South	3.44	2.92	2.51	2.35
Marital status	(2.52)*	(6.87)***	(3.16)**	(0.02)
Married, spouse present	3.37	2.73		
One or more children			2.31	2.12
No children			2.53	2.13
Never married	3.10[a]	2.40[a]	2.52	2.12
Other			2.70	2.15
Interfirm mobility, 1968-71	(1.46)	(0.45)	(11.09)***	(4.96)***
Same employer	3.42	2.46	2.74	2.43
Different employer	3.24	2.38	2.40	2.06
NA (including not employed in 1968)	3.13	2.56	2.30	2.08
Class of worker, 1971	(3.80)**	(0.42)	(4.12)**	(7.38)***
Private	3.34	2.56	2.46	2.08
Public	2.82	2.46	2.71	2.39
Collective bargaining coverage	(34.97)***	(49.98)***	(13.93)***	(1.51)
Yes	3.84	2.95	2.92	2.20
No	2.99	2.25	2.39	2.09
Grand mean	$3.30	$2.55	$2.49	$2.13
Total number of respondents	372	208	369	168
R^2	0.32	0.41	0.26	0.36

NOTE: For manner of adjustment, see text, pp. 61 & 62 For description of variables, see text, pp. 59 thru 61

[a] Average hourly earnings not shown if based on fewer than 20 sample cases.
*Variable significant at 20 percent level.
**Variable significant at 5 percent level.
***Variable significant at 1 percent level.
NA Not available.

expectation is fulfilled in the case of the two groups of young women, but not for the men, although the pattern is discernible among white men even if it does not meet the test of statistical significance. For women, those with the same employer enjoy a substantial advantage over their mobile conterparts--14 percent in the case of the whites and 18 percent for the blacks--and even larger advantages over those who were not employed at the time of the 1968 interview.

Two other variables that are highly significant in explaining wage variation among youth are region of residence and size of community. Generally speaking, earnings are considerably higher outside the South, although it is noteworthy that this generalization does not apply to white women. For the other three groups, the relative earnings advantage attributable to living outside the South is substantial, amounting to 23 percent for black males, 19 percent for black females, and 15 percent for white males. For all groups, those who resided continuously in a large labor market area enjoyed a wage differential in 1971 ranging between 16 and 22 percent over those who lived in small areas. Those who were geographically mobile were better off then youth who remained in small areas, but did not fare as well as those with continuous residence in large communities.

Except among the black young women, the marital status of the youth bears a significant relationship to their earnings, although, as might be expected, the nature of this relationship is different for males than for (white) females. Married males who are living with their wives have earnings that are significantly higher, other things being equal, than those of single youth--a differential of 9 percent in the case of whites and of 14 percent among blacks. Among white women, there is virtually no difference in earnings between the never married and childless married women. Both these groups have an earnings advantage of approximately 10 percent over married women with children. The highest earnings prevail among the widowed, divorced, and separated, who enjoy a 17 percent differential over young married mothers.

Two characteristics of their jobs generally have a pronounced influence on the earnings of youth: whether they are employed in the public or the private sector and whether they are covered by collective bargaining. However, the impact of government employment on earnings is diametrically different for men and women. Among the latter, employment in the public sector is associated with an earnings advantage of 10 percent for whites and 15 percent for blacks. In the case of the young men, on the other hand, there is an 18 percent earnings differential in favor of the private sector for white men and no significant difference in the case of the blacks. As a consequence of these different patterns, both the net sex differential and the net racial differential in earnings are smaller in the public sector than in the private sector. The female-male earnings ratio is .96 for whites and .97 for blacks in government employment, in contrast with .74 and .81, respectively, in the private sector. Among men, the net black-white earnings ratio is .87 in government employment, as compared with .77 in private employment. Among women, the corresponding ratios are .88 and .84.

Collective bargaining coverage imparts a highly significant net earnings advantage to men of both races and to white women. The relative differentials are 28 percent for white men, 31 percent for black men, and 22 percent for white women. The much smaller differential that appears in the data for black women is not statistically significant. As a consequence of these differences by race and sex, the net sex difference in earnings is substantially smaller among blacks in the nonunionized than in the unionized sector of the economy.

Two of the variables included in the analysis achieve statistical significance for only one of the four race-sex groups, although the hypothesized pattern is generally discernible in the other groups even if not statistically significant. Youth who scored high on the knowledge-of-the-world-of-work test tend to have higher earnings than those with low scores. The differential ranges between 4 and 8 percent, but is statistically significant only for white females. We interpret this relationship to reflect the joint influence of general cognitive ability and the extent of labor market information.[21] Parental socioeconomic status bears the expected positive relationship with earnings for all groups except black males, but is statistically significant only for black females.

Occupational Level

When the criterion of success in the labor market is occupational status (Table 8), gross racial differentials are again substantial. There is a 10-point difference in the mean Duncan Index scores of white and black males and a 13-point difference in the case of females. However, the sex differential in this case is opposite to that which prevails in the case of earnings. The mean Duncan Index for women is higher than that of men by 11 points in the case of whites and by 9 points among blacks. It should be emphasized that these comparisons may not be particularly meaningful, since the Duncan Index purports to measure the relative prestige levels of occupations held by males.[22] In any case, the higher average prestige level of women reflects their greater concentration in white-collar jobs.

As in the case of earnings, occupational assignment bears a significant relationship with the education-age variable for all four sex-race groups. Again, however, the age (experience) component of the variable appears to make no difference for the young women and manifests a less consistent influence for black than for white males. Training again provides a significant advantage to white males, but in this case not to white females. Black females, on the other hand, profit from training as

Table 8

Adjusted Duncan Index of 1971 Occupational Assignment, by Selected Characteristics: MCA Results (F-Ratio in Parentheses)

Characteristic	Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black
Education and age	(4.57)***	(7.72)***	(4.52)***	(3.74)***
Less than 9 years: 16-21	25.2	12.8	[a]	[a]
9-11 years: 16-19	25.3	18.4	33.2	23.7
9-11 years: 20-21	27.8	18.0	[a]	22.3
12 years: 16-19	30.3	21.6	42.8	31.4
12 years: 20-21	33.8	29.7	42.6	29.7
13-15 years: all ages	38.6	[a]	44.9	[a]
Training outside regular school, 1971	(9.08)***	(0.25)	(0.31)	(10.69)***
Yes	33.2	21.0	42.1	34.2
No	27.8	20.0	41.1	26.4
Parental socioeconomic status	(7.40)***	(1.79)	(1.60)	(2.09)*
Low	29.7	21.6	38.2	26.9
Medium	27.8	16.8	42.7	29.0
High	37.6	[a]	42.5	[a]
Knowledge of world of work	(8.42)***	(0.00)	(1.53)	(0.37)
Low	27.0	20.3	40.5	28.5
High	32.1	20.3	42.6	30.0
Geographic mobility, 1968-71, and size of area	(6.24)***	(1.08)	(6.65)***	(10.51)***
Nonmovers: large area	31.7	22.7	45.8	33.5
Nonmovers: small area	26.8	19.2	38.4	23.0
Movers	33.4	20.3	41.9	33.3
Marital status	(3.85)**	(1.53)	(1.97)	(1.02)
Married, spouse present	31.8	19.5		
One or more children			38.5	26.8
No children			43.6	31.4
Never married	27.6	20.4	42.5	29.6
Other	[a]	[a]	41.1	31.5
Interfirm mobility, 1968-71	(3.97)**	(1.26)	(4.84)***	(1.73)
Same employer	31.6	20.9	44.0	31.3
Different employer	30.5	19.4	42.4	26.5
NA (including not employed in 1968)	20.6	24.3	37.4	30.5
Class of worker, 1971	(0.02)	(0.01)	(7.30)***	(16.63)***
Private	30.3	20.3	40.8	26.9
Public	30.8	20.6	48.1	39.5
Collective bargaining coverage	(7.72)***	(5.67)**	(4.74)***	(3.18)*
Yes	25.9	23.0	36.0	26.0
No	32.8	18.4	42.8	30.3
Grand mean	30.4	20.3	41.6	28.9
Total number of respondents	380	218	384	173
$\bar{R}^2$	0.27	0.17	0.19	0.37

NOTE: For manner of adjustment, see text, pp. **61 & 62** For description of variables, see text, pp. **59 thru 61**

[a] Average hourly earnings not shown if based on fewer than 20 sample cases.
*Variable significant at 20 percent level.
**Variable significant at 5 percent level.
***Variable significant at 1 percent level.
NA Not available.

far as occupational status is concerned. The interfirm mobility variable also operates somewhat differently with respect to earnings. In the latter case, it will be recalled, it was significant only for women; with occupational assignment, it is significant for whites of both sexes, but not for blacks. But even for white youth, the substantial differences in occupational assignment are not between those who changed employers between 1968 and 1971 and those who did not, but rather between those who were employed at both dates and those who were not. Among white males, the former enjoyed a 10-point advantage over the latter; among white women, the differential was in the neighborhood of 6 points.

Size-of-labor-market area among the geographically immobile has the same impact on level of occupational assignment as on earnings for all of the groups of youth except black males.[23] The geographically mobile youth are in higher-status jobs than the immobile youth in small communities; indeed, in the case of white males and black females, they do as well as or better than the immobile youth in large communities.

Employment in the public versus the private sector makes no difference in occupational status of males, but among females of both races, public employment yields a substantial advantage, especially among blacks. As a result, as is also true in the case of earnings, the black-white differential in occupational status of women is considerably smaller in the public sector than in private employment. Collective bargaining coverage is significantly related to occupational status for all four groups of youth, but only in the case of black men is the relationship the same as it is for earnings. For the other three groups, those covered by collective bargaining are in *lower*-status jobs than those who are not covered. These results largely reflect the fact that white collar jobs--which are considerably less likely to be unionized than blue collar jobs--generally have higher Duncan Index scores.

Finally, it may be observed that the knowledge-of-the-world-of-work score and parental socioeconomic status are somewhat more strongly related to occupational assignment than to earnings. Both of these variables bear a highly significant positive relationship with the occupational status of white males, although not for blacks. For females of both races, the same patterns are discernible but do not achieve statistical significance.

Incidence of Unemployment

The data in Table 9 make it clear that, except possibly for black males, the explanatory variables that we have been using are less successful in accounting for variation in unemployment experience than in earnings of occupational assignment. For example, the adjusted R^2s in the MCA for wages are .32, .41, .26, and .36 for white and black males and white and black females, respectively. In the case of the MCA for

Table 9

Percentage of Youth Experiencing Unemployment in Past 12 Months, 1971, by Selected Characteristics: MCA Results

(F-Ratios in Parentheses)

Characteristic	Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black
Education and age	(0.76)	(1.64)	(1.99)*	(1.06)
Less than 9 years: 16-21	17	40	45	27
9-11 years: 16-19	19	26	27	34
9-11 years: 20-21	27	34	25	34
12 years: 16-19	18	25	22	47
12 years: 20-21	26	24	28	38
13-15 years: 16-21	20	[a]	20	[a]
Training outside regular school, 1971	(3.13)*	(0.08)	(0.34)	(0.11)
Yes	18	31	27	40
No	25	29	25	38
Parental socioeconomic status	(2.11)	(2.47)	(1.32)	(2.22)
Low	19	25	27	36
Medium	20	33	22	33
High	30	[a]	30	58
Knowledge of world of work	(0.65)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.96)
Low	24	29	26	40
High	20	20	26	33
Geographic mobility, 1968-71, and size of area	(0.58)	(1.58)***	(0.89)	(3.97)***
Nonmovers: large area	24	37	23	32
Nonmovers: small area	19	27	25	42
Movers	23	25	29	39
Marital status	(1.57)	(3.86)***	(0.89)	(3.97)***
Married, spouse present	21	23		
One or more children			25	39
No children			23	25
Never married	25	34	29	30
Other	[a]	[a]	33	55
Interfirm mobility, 1968-71	(1.46)***	(24.98)***	(17.46)***	(4.96)***
Same employer	4	11	9	10
Different employer	26	24	22	24
NA (including not employed in 1968)	64	63	35	50
Grand mean	22	30	26	38
Total number of respondents	385	224	577	263
$\bar{R}^2$	0.18	0.27	0.07	0.13

NOTE: For manner of adjustment, see text, pp. 61 & 62. For description of variables, see text, pp. 59 thru 61

[a] Average hourly earnings not shown if based on fewer than 20 sample cases.

*Variable significant at 20 percent level.

**Variable significant at 5 percent level.

***Variable significant at 1 percent level.

NA Not available.

unemployment, the corresponding R^2s are .18, .27, .06, and .13.[24] Only two variables are significant at the 5 percent level or above: interfirm mobility for all four age-sex groups and marital status for black youth of both sexes.

By all odds the most important finding that emerges from Table 9 is the very strong relationship between job-changing and unemployment. The relationship is most dramatic in the case of white males: of those who were with the same employer in 1968 and 1971, only 4 percent experienced any unemployment during the year preceding the 1971 interview, while among those with different employers the incidence of unemployment was over six times as high. In the other three sex-race groups, the incidence of unemployment was over twice as high among the job-changers as among those who remained with the same employer.

It is also noteworthy that the likelihood of unemployment among job-changers is fairly similar across race-sex groups, ranging between 22 and 26 percent. However, among those who did not change employers, black males and women of both races were more than twice as likely as white males to have experienced unemployment (9 to 11 percent versus 4 percent). This suggests that women and black males are either more likely to experience temporary layoffs than are men or are more likely to move into and out of the labor force, returning to the same employer.

As has been mentioned, the only other variable that achieves significance at the 5 percent level is marital status in the case of black youth. Among black males, the never married youth have a significantly higher incidence of unemployment than the married youth; in the case of black females, married women with children are more likely to have experienced unemployment than either childless married women or single women, while the widowed, divorced, and separated have the highest rates of all.

Particularly surprising is the fact that within the narrow ranges of the present sample there is no systematic relationship between unemployment experience on the one hand and educational attainment or age (experience) on the other. Nor does training outside regular school appear to reduce the likelihood of unemployment, except in the case of white males, and even there the relationship is significant only at the 10 percent level.

CHANGE IN HOURLY EARNINGS AND OCCUPATIONAL POSITION, 1968-71

The analysis now turns to the factors associated with changes in a young worker's earnings and occupational status over a three-year interval. For this purpose, we further restrict the universe of youth that has been analyzed in the previous section to those who were employed at the dates of interview in 1968 and 1971.

Change in Hourly Earnings (Table 10)

Unlike the results of the cross-sectional analysis, none of the conventional measures of human capital (that is, education, experience, vocational training) exhibit a systematic association with the percentage increase in average hourly earnings across all race-sex groups. However, there is evidence that college attendance (short of graduation) by young white women, high school graduation by young white men, and receipt of formal training by whites of either sex contribute to the rate of improvement in their wages. Additionally, for young male high school graduates (but not for their female counterparts), the rate of earnings growth is positively related to number of years of labor market exposure. That is, all other things being equal, the male 20-to-21-year-old high school graduates received average wage increases about 8 percentage points greater than those received by 16-to-19-year-olds with high school diplomas.

The effects of moblity on earnings growth during the three-year period also vary across the four race-sex groups. Only among white women do we find unequivocal evidence of a monetary payoff to geographic movement. Changing employers seems to have enhanced the rate of wage improvement for males, although the relationship is statistically significant only among blacks. This fact is all the more noteworthy when it is recalled that the comparative job status variable aggregates voluntary and involuntary job changers in one category. On the other hand, the results suggest that "milling around" in the labor market by young women is not, on the average, functional from an economic point of view.

Certain aspects of the job context significantly influence the rate of growth of wages, at least for young men. Irrespective of race, being covered by a union contract and working in the private sector of the economy are associated with greater rates of increase in hourly earnings.[25] Although not attaining conventional levels of statistical significance, the results also suggest that the earnings growth of young black women workers is higher in private sector jobs, and that earnings growth of white women is higher when they are covered by collective bargaining.

Finally, the data show that for young men, wage increases are relatively larger among those who are married, living in large cities, or living outside of the South. The pattern is similar for young women, except that for blacks the wage growth is higher among those in the South, and for whites, the never married enjoy a higher rate of increase in earnings than do the married. In none of the four sex-race groups does parental socioeconomic status bear a significant relationship to rate of increase in earnings.

Table 10

Adjusted Percentage Change in Average Hourly Earnings, 1968-71, by Selected Characteristics: MCA Results

(F-Ratios in Parentheses)

Characteristic	Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black
Education and age, 1968	(1.81)	(1.01)	(1.88)*	(1.62)
Less than 9 years: 16-21	44	58	a	a
9-11 years: 16-19	44	70	a	a
9-11 years: 20-21	56	60	a	a
12 years: 16-19	62	54	53	44
12 years: 20-21	74	59	47	45
13-15 years: 16-21	69	a	62	a
Training outside regular school, 1971	(3.43)*	(2.80)	(4.09)**	(0.13)
Yes	68	50	56	42
No	54	63	43	48
Parental socioeconomic status	(0.83)	(1.13)	(1.06)	(1.05)
Low	66	54	45	55
Medium	59	66	54	50
High	60	a	44	a
Knowledge of world of work	(1.93)	(0.00)	(0.05)	(0.00)
Low	53	59	49	45
High	64	58	50	47
Geographic mobility, 1968-71, and size of area	(4.64)***	(3.46)**	(4.99)***	(5.55)***
Nonmovers: large area	81	74	49	60
Nonmovers: small area	54	51	40	22
Movers	55	58	66	a
Region, 1971	(10.48)***	(4.36)**	(1.06)	(1.46)
South	42	54	44	54
Non-South	68	71	51	35
Marital status, 1971	(1.07)	(3.61)**	(1.09)	(0.79)
Married, spouse present	61	67		
One or more children			41	55
No children			48	a
Never married	54	49	56	28
Other	a	a	a	a
Interfirm mobility, 1968-71	(0.45)	(3.95)**	(5.20)**	(0.02)
Same employer	57	48	57	44
Different employer	62	63	43	47
Class of worker, 1971	(3.10)*	(0.66)	(0.25)	(1.93)
Private	62	60	49	52
Public	37	a	54	26
Collective bargaining coverage, 1971	(24.65)***	(20.00)***	(1.96)	(0.00)
Yes	85	77	61	46
No	46	45	46	46
Grand mean	60	59	49	46
Total number of respondents	331	167	251	93
$\bar{R}^2$	0.36	0.40	0.37	0.14

NOTE: For manner of adjustment, see text, pp. **61 & 62.** For description of variables, see text, pp. **59 thru 61**. Base year earnings (not shown) were included in the analysis.

[a] Average hourly earnings not shown if based on fewer than 20 sample cases.

*Variable significant at 10 percent level.

**Variable significant at 5 percent level.

***Variable significant at 1 percent level.

Change in Occupational Position

Over the three-year interval under examination, young men experienced a perceptible improvement in occupational status--about 4 points in the Duncan Index--while young women virtually stood still occupationally. All in all, there was no gross racial difference in average occupational mobility in either sex group. Nevertheless, there are substantial racial differences in the factors underlying occupational upgrading, which are noted below. We first examine the extent of vertical occupational movement by all young workers; then we focus on young men who had not "made it" occupationally by 1968--that is, who were below average for their group--and examine the probability of their having done so by 1971.

In contrast to the analysis of earnings growth, the MCA results shown in Table 11 indicate some substantial effects of human capital measures on upward occupational mobility, although the effects vary considerably by sex and race. To begin with, high school graduation and college attendance (even without graduation) significantly increase a young man's upward occupational movement, but the same does not appear to be true for women. Further, among white men, both the receipt of formal postschool training and the accumulation of labor market information make significant contributions to upward movement.[26] As was true of wage improvement, upward occupational movement is not systematically related to parental socioeconomic status. Only among white men is the variable statistically significant, and even there the effect is not monotonic.

Despite the complexity of the interrelationships among the various types of labor mobility, our analysis reveals some interesting associations. Contrary to the findings on wage improvement, there is no support for the hypothesis that improvement in occupational status is regularly associated with changing employers. While occupational progress appears to be greater among white male and black female interfirm movers, for black males and white females it appears greater for those who did not change employers. Put somewhat differently, there is no clear superiority of either internal or external labor markets as avenues for occupational upgrading. Likewise, a change of labor market areas is not uniformly associated with upward mobility. Only among young white men is this association found to be statistically significant.[27]

While the nature of the job context clearly influences occupational change, the effects vary considerably by race and sex. Thus, although working in the public sector appears to be more conducive to upward mobility for white men and for women of both races, the relationship is significant only for black females. Collective bargaining coverage makes a significant difference in this regard for all four groups of workers;

Table 11

Adjusted Change in Occupational Assignment, 1968-71, by Selected Characteristics: MCA Results
(F-Ratios in Parentheses)

Characteristic	Male				Female	
	White		Black		White	Black
	Change in Duncan Index	Percentage "Making It"	Change in Duncan Index	Percentage "Making It"	Change in Duncan Index	Change in Duncan Index
Education and age, 1968	(2.06)*	(2.11)*	(6.94)***	(9.01)***	(0.24)	(2.04)*
Less than 9 years: 16-21	-0.3	20	-2.8	0	a	a
9-11 years: 16-19	0	26	3.1	11	a	a
9-11 years: 20-21	1.2	15	-0.8	0	a	a
12 years: 16-19	4.6	40	6.1	19	-0.3	4.5
12 years: 20-21	6.0	34	12.7	a	1.4	0.0
13-15 years: 16-21	6.9	a	a	a	-0.7	a
Training outside regular school, 1971	(6.18)**	(0.56)	(0.01)	(3.26)	(0.18)	(0.10)
Yes	5.4	32	3.7	7	0.6	0.8
No	2.5	27	3.9	17	-0.1	0.0
Parental socioeconomic status	(4.56)***	(3.49)**	(0.37)	(0.32)	(0.30)	(2.43)
Low	3.8	36	4.4	15	-1.3	-0.1
Medium	1.9	25	2.4	9	0.9	-2.6
High	8.2	43	a	a	0.1	a
Knowledge of world of work	(9.16)***	(2.71)*	(5.27)	(2.02)	(0.18)	(0.00)
Low	5.2	23	7.0	16	-0.1	0.3
High	7.8	33	0.0	7	0.6	0.3
Geographic mobility, 1968-71, and size of area	(6.57)**	(2.72)*	(0.33)	(0.51)	(2.11)*	(3.45)**
Nonmovers: large area	3.3	31	5.7	16	1.9	4.4
Nonmovers: small area	1.5	22	3.1	15	-1.7	-2.6
Movers	6.8	37	3.1	10	2.1	a
Marital status, 1971	(0.22)	(0.39)	(3.30)**	(2.42)*	(1.52)	(1.67)
Married, spouse present	4.2	31	3.3	13		
One or more children					-2.6	-2.5
No children					0.9	a
Never married	2.7	25	2.7	11	1.9	0.4
Other	a	a	a	a	a	a
Interfirm mobility, 1968-71	(0.71)	(4.75)**	(0.31)	(0.13)	(1.32)	(0.02)
Same employer	2.8	26	4.2	15	1.3	0.0
Different employer	4.2	33	3.5	13	-0.6	0.4
Class of worker, 1971	(0.30)	(0.59)	(0.12)	(0.53)	(0.55)	(8.38)***
Private	3.6	29	4.0	13	0.1	-1.5
Public	5.8	a	a	a	1.7	7.4
Collective bargaining coverage, 1971	(2.19)**	(1.66)	(2.98)*	(0.58)	(2.16)*	(7.65)***
Yes	9.4	22	5.8	12	-1.0	-5.2
No	2.9	11	2.6	16	1.1	2.5
Grand mean	3.6	29	3.8	14	0.1	0.3
Total number of respondents	344	221	189	166	278	102
R^2	0.33	0.09	0.21	0.12	0.12	0.25

NOTE: For manner of adjustment, see text, pp. 61 & 62. For description of variables, see text, pp. 59 thru 61. Base year Duncan index (not shown) was included in the analysis.

[a] Figures not shown if based on fewer than 25 sample cases.

*Variable significant at 10 percent level.

**Variable significant at 5 percent level.

***Variable significant at 1 percent level.

however, only for black males is it associated with upward movement. Among both white and black women and among white men, those *not* subject to collective bargaining moved further up the occupational ladder.[28]

Finally, the MCAs yield rather consistent results for the so-called control variables. Marital status is not related to change in occupational status,[29] but both size of area of residence (for nonmigrants) and base-year occupational status are systematically related to occupational change. That is, upgrading is positively related to living in a large local labor market and inversely related to starting occupational level. This latter relationship points up the superficiality of examining gross white-black differences in occupational mobility. While it is true that on the average, blacks, gained as much in occupational status as did whites, this finding must be interpreted in light of the fact that (1) blacks began the three-year period at much lower levels than whites and (2) starting position bears a strong negative relationship to the absolute size of gains.

To conclude this analysis of occupational mobility, we narrow the universe of interest to young men whose 1968 occupational status was below average--that is, those who had not "made it" by 1968. Almost two-thirds of the white youth and nine-tenths of the blacks were in this category.[30] Overall, about 3 out of 10 whites and 3 out of 20 blacks had progressed to a position above that average by 1971. By and large, the determinants of the probability of having "made it" by 1971 are similar to the determinants of upward mobility among all young male workers. However, there are three differences that are worthy of note. First, the receipt of formal postschool training by young white workers is not significantly related to achieving success occupationally. Second, the results indicate no significant difference in the likelihood of success according to collective bargaining coverage. Third, for white men there is evidence that crossing the borderline from a below- to an above-average status job is accomplished more frequently by means of changing employers than by promotion within a firm.

SUMMARY AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has attempted to identify the factors associated with variations in earnings, occupational status, and unemployment experience among a relatively homogeneous segment of the labor force--young men and young women who had ended (at least temporarily) their formal education at some level below college graduation. We have examined their status in 1971 when the youth were between the ages of 19 and 24 and have also analyzed the changes that took place over the immediately preceding three-year period. In this concluding section, we summarize the more noteworthy findings and comment on their implications for labor market policy.

Of the approximately 2.3 million young men and 4.2 million young women represented by our sample, about 95 percent of the males and slightly more than three-fifths of the females were in the labor force in 1968. Three years later, the proportion of men in the labor force was even slightly higher, while the proportion of women had dropped a few percentage points as more of them had married and become mothers. Despite deteriorating economic conditions over the three-year period, there is some evidence of improved employment stability for the group. Moreover, of those employed at both dates, hourly earnings increased substantially faster than did the Consumers' Price Index and to a considerably greater extent than for the labor force as a whole. For males, average hourly earnings were almost half again as high in 1971 as in 1968. On the average, there was also movement up the occupational ladder over the three-year period, but this was largely confined to the males, being barely perceptible among the young women.

Despite the relative homogeneity of this group of youthful workers, there was considerable variability within it in labor market position. Among the most dramatic differences were those between women and men, and within each sex, between blacks and whites. Consider, for example, those youth who had exactly 12 years of education and who were 19 to 22 years of age in 1971. This group, accounting for almost a fourth of the males and almost two-fifths of the females, had just established themselves in the labor market, with a potential labor force exposure ranging from two to five years. Their identical educational attainments brought quite different economic rewards, however, to men and women and to blacks and whites with "average" characteristics for their respective groups.[31] The differential in favor of males was 25 percent among whites and 19 percent among blacks; the differential in favor of whites was 17 percent among males and 10 percent among females. When occupational status is the criterion, the same pattern of racial differences is apparent; in this case, however, young women scored higher than young men because of their greater concentration in white collar (clerical) occupations.

In addition to sex and race, what other characteristics of youth appear to exercise independent effects on their labor market status? The evidence in this regard is somewhat more difficult to summarize, both because the influence of a number of variables differs as between men and women and/or as between whites and blacks and also because some regular patterns do not achieve statistical significance, presumably because of limited sample size. Nevertheless, a number of generalizations appear to be warranted:

- Educational attainment exercises a rather strong influence on the earnings and the occupational positions of both men and women.

- Labor market exposure (represented by age, with educational attainment controlled) is positively related to earnings and occupational status and to upward movement in these variables for white men and to a lesser extent among black men. Among women, on the other hand, increased labor market experience pays off with respect to neither earnings nor occupational status.

- Like work experience, formal training appears to be far more influential in imparting a labor market advantage to white men than to the other three groups, although there is some evidence of its beneficial effects among women of both races.

- Interfirm mobility during the three-year period under investigation appears to have had a bearing on a youth's position in the wage and earnings hierarchies as of 1971, although the varible meets the formal test of statistical significance only in the case of the earnings of women. Nevertheless, in virtually all cases, youth who remained with the same employer during the period appeared to enjoy higher wages and occupational status than did those who changed employers.[32] Moreover, there is a very strong and statistically significant relationship between immobility and the avoidance of unemployment. On the other hand, there is also limited evidence that interfirm movement was associated with wage *gain* over the three-year period. Thus, it would appear that while mobility may indeed constitute a means of escape from low-paying jobs, the real advantage lies with those who find satisfactory initial jobs and remain in them.

- The more a youth knows about the world of work, other things being equal, the higher his or her wages and occupational status are likely to be. Although generally not statistically significant, the occupational information test score is positively associated with the 1971 level of earnings and occupations in seven of the eight possible relationships. Whether this reflects the influence of intelligence, labor market information, or both cannot be said with confidence, although our earlier work based on a larger (and broader) sample of the young men leads us to believe that both influences are at work.[33]

- Marital status has an important influence on the labor market position of youth. Married males who are living with their wives have better records with respect to virtually every measure of success we have examined. Although it is possible that this finding reflects discrimination by employers in favor of married males, we are inclined to ascribe it in large measure to the greater motivation and sense of purpose that family responsibilities engender. Among women the influence of marital and family status is not so pronounced, achieving statistical significance in only one instance. Nonetheless, the pattern indicates rather clearly that women with children fare less well with respect to most indicators than do childless married women or those who are unmarried.

- Where a youth resides makes a substantial difference in occupational status and earnings. Residents of large cities not only enjoy higher average wages than do those in smaller communities but also have occupational assignments higher in the socioeconomic hierarchy and move up more rapidly in terms of both earnings and occupational status. There are also regional differences in both levels of earnings and rates of increase in earnings, with youth residing in the South generally faring less well than those living elsewhere.

- Finally, two aspects of the work situation have very strong independent impacts on a youth's status. Collective bargaining coverage imparts substantial wage advantages, on the average, amounting to as much as 30 percent among the males. Whether a youth works for the government or in the private sector also makes a substantial difference, although in quite different ways for men and women. Among males, private employment yields a wage advantage over government work; among women, on the other hand, government workers fare better than those in the private sector, with respect to both earnings and occupational assignment. In the case of both sexes, blacks' earnings are higher relative to those of whites in government than is the case in private employment.

The policy measures that are suggested by these findings are reasonably clear. To begin with, the substantial racial and sex differences in status and in the responsiveness of earnings to work experience and training indicate the need for continuation and intensification of efforts to eliminate discrimination in the labor market.

Second, efforts must be made to increase the amount of labor market information that is available to youth as they progress through the educational system. A realistic knowledge of occupational alternatives and their educational and training implications may have substantial effects on educational decisions. But even beyond this, our findings are consistent with the view that the extent of labor market information has an independent influence on subsequent earnings and occupational status. Hence, programs of labor market information directed at the disproportionately large groups of black youth with meager labor market knowledge (Table 1) may be an instrument for equalizing opportunity. Included among the types of information that youth should have are some of the generalizations that have emerged from this study. In addition to learning of the contributions of education and training to their subsequent positions in the labor market, youth should be told, for example, that collective bargaining yields higher wages; women should be made to understand the advantages of public employment; rural youth and those in small communities should know about the greater opportunities offered by larger communities.

Third, in addition to the basic kinds of labor market information that have been mentioned above, there is need for specific information, counseling, and placement activities that are designed to improve the choice of initial job upon leaving school. The evidence of this study suggests that however desirable job mobility may be in correcting initial mistakes, the real advantage lies with the youth who finds a decent job and remains with it. Efforts should be made to increase the proportion of young labor market entrants who fall into that category.

Fourth, the substantial advantage that postschool training programs appear to have argues for expanding the opportunities for such programs and for widely publicizing their availability. The aggregative nature of the training variable used in this study and the wide variation that exists in both type and quality of programs made the relationships that appear in our data rather remarkable. An objective of policy should be to discriminate more finely among the effects of different types of training programs, so that resources can be concentrated in those that are most successful.

This brings us to our final point. Just as we know too little about which types of training have the greatest payoff, so we are plagued by a rather abysmal ignorance of the real nature of the contribution that the educational process makes to labor market success. The data reviewed in this paper make it clear that youth with more education do better, but why that is so we really do not know. Nor do we know what types of educational experience are most likely to prepare youth well for various kinds of careers. As has been mentioned, we eliminated from our final analyses a variable indicating the high school curriculum pursued by members of the sample because preliminary work showed that it bore no consistent relation with the criteria of success, a finding consistent with an earlier and more intensive examination of that issue by John Grasso.[34] In view of the wide variety that prevails nationally in type and quality of curricula, we are not inclined to conclude from these data that vocational curricula have no advantage over the general curriculum for youth who do not go to college. We believe, however, that the data do require us to dismiss easy assumptions on this issue. In order for confident answers to be obtained, there is need for a variety of experimental educational programs accompanied by longitudinal research designs with experimental and control groups selected randomly. A research program of this type will admittedly require vast amounts of resources. However, its potential for ultimately improving the preparation of youth for the world of work is very great.

NOTES

1. Anne M. Young, "Students, Graduates and Dropouts in the Labor Market, October, 1974," U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report 180, 1975, Table N, p. A-20.

2. The National Longitudinal Surveys are designed by the Center for Human Resource Research of The Ohio State University and are conducted by the Demographic Surveys Division of the United States Bureau of the Census under contracts with the Employment and Training Administration of the U. S. Department of Labor. The surveys involve periodic interviews over a ten-year period with national probability samples of four age/sex groups of the civilian population: men between 45 and 59 years of age when the project began in the mid 1960s, women between the ages of 30 and 44, and young men and young women between the ages of 14 and 24. For a more complete description of the surveys, see *The National Longitudinal Surveys Handbook*, Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University, 1975. For comprehensive reports on the surveys of the young men, see *Career Thresholds*, vol. 1-5, U. S. Department of Labor Manpower Research Monograph no. 16; for the corresponding series of reports on the young women, see *Years for Decision*, vol. 1-3, U. S. Department of Labor Manpower Research Monograph no. 24.

3. More specifically, the sample represents 1,923,000 white and 367,000 black males; 3,659,000 white and 582,000 black females. When the samples were originally drawn, they were designed to be representative of the civilian population. By 1971 the samples were no longer strictly representative of the civilian population, both because of attrition and because they did not represent youth who had been in the armed services when the samples were originally drawn but who had since been discharged.

4. Strictly speaking, the time period is the interval between the 1969 and 1970 surveys of young men and between the 1970 and 1971 surveys of young women. Because of the timing difference in the surveys, operationally both refer mainly to calendar 1970. The length of the interval is not uniform for all respondents, even within a sex cohort, although for the vast majority, it covers a span between 48 and 56 weeks.

5. For a description of the Index, see Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Socioeconomic Index for All Occupations," in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., et al., *Occupations and Social Status* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 109-38.

6. An analogous study for the young women proved not to be feasible, both because of their extreme concentration in a limited number of occupations and because of their limited occupational mobility. In our early work, we explored the determinants of reported job satisfaction but found few systematic relationships.

7. In seeking the correlates of labor market success, we explored a large number of variables that were available in the data. The relatively small sample sizes in relation to the large number of variables with which we began led us to eliminate some of the variables from the final analyses. In general, we eliminated those that offered little explanatory power or that were highly correlated with other independent variables. Among the variables that were initially tried and discarded were health, high school curriculum, IQ score, Rotter I-E score, hours of work, and (for the males) veteran status.

8. For details on the index construction, see Andrew I. Kohen, "Determinants of Labor Market Success Among Young Men: Race, Ability, Quantity and Quality of Schooling," The Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research, 1973, Appendix B. In the three-category version, low scores are those more than one-half of a standard deviation below the mean, and high scores are those more than one-half of a standard deviation above the mean.

9. The test for young men examined three dimensions of occupational knowledge: occupational duties, educational requirements for occupational entrance, and earnings differentials. For details on the structure and scoring of the test and its relation to general mental aptitude, see Andrew I. Kohen and Susan C. Breinich, "Knowledge of the World of Work: A Test of Occupational Information for Young Men," *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 6 (1975): 133-44; and Herbert S. Parnes and Andrew I. Kohen, "Occupational Information and Labor Market Status: The Case of Young Men," *Journal of Human Resources* 10 (Winter 1975): 45-55. For the young women, the test was confined to knowledge of occupational duties. For a description of the test, see *Years of Decision*, vol. 2, U. S. Department of Labor Manpower Research Monograph no. 24 (1973): 49-58.

10. There are too few movers to separate the four possible types of movement between the two sizes of areas. Small areas are those with populations under 300,000.

11. An analogous measure--i.e., veteran status--was included in preliminary runs for the young men but was deleted when it proved to be uniformly nonsignificant.

12. It should also be noted that although not shown in the tables, small numbers of cases in which information was not ascertained on some variables were included in the multiple classification analyses. The variables for which an NA category was included in the MCA runs are as follows: parental socioeconomic status, collective bargaining coverage, and interfirm mobility 1968-71. In the case of the latter variable, the NA category includes those who were not employed at both the beginning and ending points of the three-year period.

13. See Alan Blinder, "Wage Discrimination: Reduced Form and Structural Estimates," *Journal of Human Resources* 8 (Fall 1973): 436-55; Andrew I. Kohen and Roger Roderick, "The Effects of Race and Sex Discrimination on Early-Career Earnings," The Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research, June 1975; Ronald Oaxaca, "Male-Female Wage Differentials in Urban Labor Markets," *International Economic Review* 14 (October 1973):693-709.

14. U. S. Department of Labor, *Manpower Report of the President, 1975* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1975), Tables A-1 and A-19.

15. Of course, the higher unemployment in the 12 months preceding the 1968 survey may simply be reflecting the prolonged search for first job by that portion of the sample who left school just prior to the 1968 survey.

16. Council of Economic Advisers, *Economic Report of the President* (1975), p. 310.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

18. The sum of the deviations between the 1971 occupational distributions of white males and females in Table 6 is 143; for the total labor force, the corresponding figure (for whites and blacks combined) in 1971 was 86.

19. All of the analysis in this and the following section will be in terms of adjusted values of the dependent variable--i.e., holding constant the other variables in the analysis. To simplify the exposition, we will not ordinarily use the term "adjusted."

20. This finding appears to be at odds with Flanagan's report (based on NLS data for young men) that training outside of regular school had a greater payoff for young blacks than for young whites. It is not clear to what extent this difference reflects differences between Flanagan's study and ours in (1) method of measuring training (Flanagan used a continuous variable representing duration of training), (2) definition of the universe of youth under consideration, or (3) other variables in the models. See Robert Flanagan, "Labor Force Experience, Job Turnover, and Racial Wage Differentials," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 56 (November 1974).

21. In an earlier MCA, we included both an IQ measure and the labor market information variable. The pattern displayed by the knowledge-of-the-world-of-work score was similar to that shown here. The intelligence variable did not achieve statistical significance and was removed because of its high correlation with the knowledge-of-the-world-of-work score and also because of the large number of respondents for whom IQ had not been ascertained.

22. However, for an argument that the index is equally appropriate for analyzing the occupational assignments of women, see Donald J. Treiman and Kermit Terrell, "Sex and the Process of Status Attainment: A Comparison of Working Men and Women," *American Sociological Review* 40 (1975): 176.

23. It is worth noting that the higher earnings and occupational status scores in the larger communities prevail even when agricultural workers are removed from the universe.

24. Lower R^2s might be expected simply because the dependent variable is dichotomous. However, when we used number of weeks of unemployment as the dependent variable, the R^2 was identical to that shown in Table 9 for white males and for each of the other three groups was lower than the corresponding value in Table 9.

25. It should perhaps be noted that the overall positive influence of collective bargaining on growth in hourly earnings has been found not to prevail in all occupational groups. Indeed, in a study of the change in earnings of young male blue collar workers between 1969 and 1970, collective bargaining coverage was found to confer an advantage only on white craftsmen in the construction industry. See *Career Thresholds*, vol. 5, U. S. Department of Labor Manpower Research Monograph no. 16, (1975).

26. The effect of the knowledge-of-the-world-of-work variable also prevailed in earlier runs in which a separate measure of general mental ability was also included. Also, an ordinary regression analysis replication of the MCA runs indicates clearly (by t-tests of individual coefficients) that the statistical significance of the education/age variable is attributable exclusively to high school completion and college attendance for white males. For the younger black males there is an additional significant impact of having attended high school, irrespective of graduation.

27. The significant F-ratio among white women is produced exclusively by the difference between migrants and nonmigrants in small local labor markets. Therefore, it may not be attributed to geographic mobility generally.

28. To some extent, this may be due to idiosyncracies of the Duncan Index, e.g., the fact that most categories of apprentices have higher Index scores than the corresponding journeyman categories. It is also probably attributable to the fact that white collar occupations--which generally have higher scores than blue collar occupations--are less likely than the latter to be unionized.

29. The significant F-ratio for black men is produced solely by the lower rate of increase among those who had been married but were no longer married in 1971, a very small and heterogeneous group.

30. The average (mean) Duncan Index for the young men in 1968 was 32.

31. The reference, in other words, is to the "adjusted" values yielded by the multiple classification analyses.

32. The sole exception occurs in the case of the earnings of black men.

33. Parnes and Kohen, *op. cit.*

34. John Grasso, "The Contributions of Vocational Education, Training, and Work Experience to the Early Career Achievements of Young Men," The Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research (1975).

CHAPTER 5

THE COMPETENCIES OF YOUTH

Ralph Winfred Tyler

In exploring the problems of youth in making the transition from school to work, it is helpful to recognize that this is one of three concerns commonly voiced in public discussions of today's youth: delinquency, lack of employable skills, and lack of adequate opportunities to make a gradual transition into constructive adult roles. All of these problems are associated with rapid changes in a society in which the provisions for youth to learn to assume responsible adult roles have not caught up with those lost with the changes in the patterns of family life, community activities, and employment situations. These three common concerns are closely interrelated, so that effective policies to deal with any one of them must consider their implications and impact on the others.

In studies of youth delinquency, a mass of data have been obtained and analyzed, so that the extent of the problem and the proportion of youth involved--in different settings and from different socioeconomic backgrounds--are known. These studies throw light on the reduction in opportunities that youth have to take constructive responsibility, brought about by changes in the family, in the community, and in work situations. Furthermore, a number of investigations and reports have focused on youth transition into adult life. The most widely known report on this subject is that prepared by the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee. These studies and reports furnish a helpful background for an exploration of the problems of youth transition to employment.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the competencies of youth to locate, obtain, and perform adult-type employment. Since few comprehensive studies have been made on the competencies required for locating, obtaining, and performing the adult-type jobs that are available for initial employment, and no comprehensive studies exist that assess all the requisite competencies that have been developed by a representative sample of youth, this paper pieces together partial data and makes inferential leaps where the data are incomplete but point to possible interpretations.

Although the National Commission for Manpower Policy is "concentrating on the problems, needs, and experience of young people who do not plan, or will not complete, a four-year college education, and who seek to enter the world of work" (and this leaves out about 40 percent of the age group), there have been few studies about such young people, and there is much less data available on them than there is about students and graduates of four-year colleges. A glance at the distribution of educational levels achieved by young people who were 25 years of age in 1971 gives some indication of the educational heterogeneity of contemporary youth.

Table 1

Percentage of 25-Year-Olds in 1971 Reaching Various Educational Levels

Educational Level	Males			Females		
	Total	White	Black	Total	White	Black
High School Dropouts	20	18	35	19	18	34
High School Graduates	26	24	40	38	37	48
1 to 3 Years of College	30	32	14	24	25	10
College Graduates	25	26	11	19	20	8

This heterogeneity needs to be kept in mind when interpretation of data that summarizes a total group is being made.

JOB COMPETENCIES OF HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH

Several studies furnish some information about the jobs obtained by high school graduates and the competence of youth to perform them. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), planning for its 1974-75 Assessment of Career and Occupational Development, commissioned the Research Triangle Institute to conduct a survey during the 1973 spring semester to determine how a national probability sample of high school seniors would respond to a special screening questionnaire concerning their ability to perform certain job skills. The thirty job titles included in the job skills screening questionnaire were chosen from a list of approximately fifty most common jobs obtained by persons with less than a college education. The list was obtained from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The thirty occupations listed in the questionnaire were selected from the fifty by a small conference of persons from the Employment Service, high school teachers of vocational education, and personnel directors from business and industry. The thirty occupations were estimated by the conference participants to be the major types of jobs other than unskilled labor in which young people gain initial employment.

The Research Triangle Institute designed the national probability sample of high school seniors and carried out field procedures by mail and telephone. Of 114 district schools in the sample, 110 agreed to participate, and 103 actually completed the prescribed procedures and

Table 2

Estimated Percentage of High School Seniors Indicating the Ability to Perform in the Specified Occupation (103 Schools)

Occupation	National Total	TOC 1	TOC 2	TOC 3	TOC 4	N E	S E	Central	West
Nurse's Aide	22.34	22.34	24.30	23.57	21.71	28.36	25.07	20.97	17.24
Hospital Orderly	15.11	14.37	15.74	20.20	13.71	20.53	12.58	16.22	10.73
Waiter or Waitress	61.09	59.55	55.83	70.53	59.47	71.99	57.90	60.79	53.64
Short-Order Cook	36.02	37.10	27.00	37.92	36.67	40.13	33.68	37.13	32.65
Cosmetologist	5.57	5.41	6.77	4.92	5.60	4.11	9.81	4.92	5.45
Barber	4.26	5.26	4.65	4.75	3.93	4.55	6.46	4.18	3.09
Stenographer	11.61	13.04	12.41	9.53	11.87	10.49	14.69	12.92	10.00
Typist	38.00	40.02	43.03	34.65	37.91	33.35	46.31	39.86	36.51
Cashier	56.69	51.80	57.01	62.48	55.72	65.74	53.29	54.89	52.19
Shipping and Receiving Clerk	21.48	20.67	21.58	26.49	20.19	25.99	22.48	20.74	17.89
Office Machine Operator	17.80	19.66	21.08	20.20	16.39	18.47	20.86	19.10	14.69
Retail Salesperson	31.25	32.52	30.37	40.02	28.78	28.26	30.14	31.75	33.83
Carpenter	18.80	31.14	10.18	18.48	18.45	19.01	17.55	19.81	18.31
Auto Mechanic	16.86	26.41	9.34	13.30	17.63	15.92	18.17	15.91	17.88
Electrician	7.52	12.63	5.69	6.80	7.28	8.59	7.09	7.80	6.56
Auto Body Repair Worker	9.64	15.66	6.63	8.11	9.68	11.19	10.27	10.05	7.70
Appliance Repair Worker	6.39	7.82	4.86	7.04	6.24	8.21	5.13	6.56	5.28
Truck Driver	26.41	38.32	15.46	28.70	25.75	26.40	26.02	25.82	27.12
Machine Tool Operator	7.95	14.77	6.51	7.54	7.33	8.43	9.35	8.05	6.81
Welder	10.60	23.78	5.11	7.40	10.47	7.59	11.37	12.20	11.38
Service Station Attendant	41.78	50.18	27.05	48.59	40.91	46.40	37.13	41.58	40.19
Farm Tractor Operator	18.84	41.14	5.57	14.11	19.01	12.94	19.12	22.08	20.83
Bookkeeper	21.99	22.85	22.37	26.81	20.47	21.87	24.57	22.16	20.76
Bank Teller	21.29	20.10	22.77	27.64	19.49	26.24	19.32	24.38	15.33
Painter and Paperhanger	21.60	26.36	14.57	28.55	20.05	28.21	20.44	21.06	17.03
Plumber and Pipefitter	6.93	12.77	4.43	6.93	6.48	7.68	6.58	6.19	7.10
Keypunch Operator	10.36	10.06	11.90	10.98	10.00	11.72	13.51	9.36	8.65
Telephone Operator	22.31	18.74	25.89	28.34	20.60	27.60	25.54	21.65	16.97
Police	10.90	12.95	10.41	13.30	10.03	12.07	12.96	10.80	9.07
Lineman/Serviceman	4.86	5.57	3.82	3.78	5.21	5.24	5.61	4.94	4.12

returned the data in time to be included in the final tabulations. The total number of student questionnaires completed was 6,310. Table 2 shows the thirty occupations and the estimated percentage of high school seniors indicating the ability to perform in the specified occupations.[1]

The abbreviations in the headings of the table stand for the following:

TOC - Type of community
TOC 1 - Extreme rural
TOC 2 - Extreme inner city
TOC 3 - Extreme affluent suburb
TOC 4 - Inner-city fringe
TOC 5 - Suburban fringe
TOC 6 - Medium-size city
TOC 7 - Small city

NE - Northeastern U.S.
SE - Southeastern U.S.
Central - Central U.S.
West - Western U.S.

This table presents the occupations, other than unskilled, in which most young people will probably obtain initial employment. From these tabulations, inferences can be drawn regarding the personal competencies required to perform successfully in these occupations. Unfortunately, the Congress failed to appropriate the funds requested by the National Assessment in order to assess these competencies with performance tests administered to a national sample of 17-year-olds. Thus the self-report data are suggestive but have not been corroborated by actual test.

The self-report data indicate that 61 percent of U.S. high school seniors believe that they have the ability to perform as waiters or waitresses, 57 percent as cashiers, 42 percent as service station attendants, 38 percent as typists, 36 percent as short-order cooks, 31 percent as retail sales-persons, 26 percent as truck drivers, 22 percent as nurse's aides, and so on. At the other extreme, only 4 percent reported competence as barbers, 5 percent as linemen/servicemen, 6 percent as cosmetologists and 7 percent as plumbers/pipefitters.

The differences between competencies of seniors in the inner cities and the affluent suburbs are greatest for the occupations of service station attendant (21 percent), waiter or waitress (15 percent), painter/paperhanger (14 percent), truck driver (13 percent), short-order cook (11 percent) and retail salesperson (10 percent). In each of these cases, the larger percent of seniors are in the affluent suburbs. However, for typist (8 percent difference), stenographer (3 percent), and cosmetologist (2 percent), a larger proportion of inner-city seniors reported competence.

This appears to reflect the differences in educational opportunity. The seniors from affluent suburbs have more opportunities at home and in the community than do inner-city seniors to acquire competencies for a number of occupations, but the latter are more likely to enroll in high school courses in typing, shorthand, and cosmetology. For most of the job titles, fewer youth from the inner cities than from other types of communities reported that they have the competencies required for these jobs.

Unfortunately, the report of this study does not give a summary by individual respondents. Hence, we cannot determine from these data what percentage of high school seniors reported having none of these job skills or what percent had one, two, three, four, or five of them. The table does give the reader some idea of the kind of skills that are required for initial employment of those who are not college graduates. Most of the specialized skills can be acquired with less than four weeks of specific training. However, almost all of these jobs require certain academic skills, particularly reading, computation, and writing; certain habits of work, particularly regularity and attention; and a few skills in interpersonal relations.

Project Talent is a longitudinal study of a national probability sample of persons enrolled in high school in 1960. Those who were in each of the grades nine through twelve in 1960 were questioned one year after their class graduated from high school. The results furnish data regarding the occupations of young people in the 1960s. Since the war in Vietnam was then in progress and the country was not in an economic recession, one would expect the distribution of occupations and the percentage of unemployment to differ from that at present. However, the Project Talent data do provide some relevant information about the employment of youth.[2]

For those who were in the twelfth grade in 1960 and did not go to college, 62 percent of the males and 56.8 percent of the females reported that they had full-time jobs one year after their class graduated; 12 percent of the males and 8 percent of the females had part-time jobs; 25.4 percent of the males and 35.2 percent of the females reported that they had no job and were not in college. Those in the eleventh grade in 1960 reported one year after their class graduated. Seventy-four percent of the males and 57.6 percent of the females were employed full time; 8.8 percent of the males and 7.5 percent of the females were employed part time; and 17.1 percent of the males and 34.9 percent of the females had no job.

For the ninth and tenth grade classes in 1960, those who dropped out before graduating from high school were about 16 percent of the total. Their employment status a year after their class graduated was somewhat different from that of the noncollege high school graduate. Among the dropouts, 86 percent of the males and 26 percent of the females were employed full time; 3 percent of the males and 4 percent of the females were employed part time, while 10 percent of the males and 70 percent of the females had no job. Since these young people dropped out some time before graduation, they had been on the labor market longer than a year when they reported.

Whereas among the high school graduates, about 20 percent of the males were in the armed services one year after graduation, among those who dropped out of high school, about 34 percent of the males were in the armed services. Obviously, the percentage today would be different.

The full-time jobs held by noncollege high school graduates a year after graduation and by the high school dropouts are shown in Table 3.[3] Similar data were reported for the graduates of 1962 and 1963 and for the high school dropouts.

Unfortunately, the occupational classification used in these tables is not specific enough to define the skills required very adequately. The job titles included in each of these classifications are listed in Table 4.[4]

For the high school graduates, more than 30 percent of the jobs held by males one year after graduation are in the unskilled worker or service

Table 3

What Is Your Job?

(Percentages Based on Weighted Frequencies of Noncollege High School Graduates Working 35 Hours a Week or More)

	Job Category	Grade 12		Grade 11	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
1.	Health Professions	0.4	1.1	0.0	0.5
2.	Government, Law	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.2
3.	Teacher, Librarian	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0
4.	Business	3.2	1.6	2.4	2.9
5.	Creative, Cultural	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.5
6.	Scientific, Medical Technician	2.4	0.6	3.0	0.7
7.	Clerical, Sales	19.4	74.0	17.4	77.6
8.	Protective	22.6	1.1	15.6	0.5
9.	Skilled Worker	17.9	1.1	23.5	0.6
10.	Service Worker	10.3	11.6	12.3	12.7
11.	Unskilled Worker	19.9	7.9	19.7	3.6
12.	Outdoor	3.2	0.0	4.2	0.2
13.	All other	0.6	0.2	0.7	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4

Occupations Included in Each of the 13 Job Categories Listed in Table 3

1. Health professions -- Biological scientists (includes pharmacologist), physician, surgeon, dentist, veterinarian, professional nurse, dietitian, home economist, pharmacist.

2. Government, law -- Government (civil service, foreign service, government official, Peace Corps, etc.), lawyer, judge.

3. Teacher, librarian -- Teacher, librarian.

4. Business -- Accountant, auditor, business worker, industry worker, agent, broker, dealer, manager, salesman.

5. Creative, cultural -- Author, editor, reporter, musician, artist, entertainer, performer, model.

6. Scientific, medical technician -- Computer programmer, analyst, technician (science, engineering), aviation workers, surveyor, draftsman, photographer, therapist (occupational, physical, etc.), technician (medical, X-ray, etc.).

7. Clerical, sales -- Tabulating operator, bookkeeper, stenographer, secretary, telephone operator, cashier, keypunch operator, typist, other clerical worker (clerk, office machine operator, etc.), salesclerk, other sales worker (routeman, door-to-door salesman, collector, etc.).

8. Protective -- Armed Forces member, merchant marine, policeman, fireman, etc.

9. Skilled worker -- Electronic technician, electrician, machinist, mechanic, repairman, carpenter, cabinetmaker, metal trades worker, painter, construction worker, maintenance worker, plumber, pipefitter, roadbuilding worker, earth-moving equipment operator, other building and construction worker, clothing and fashion trades worker, printing worker.

10. Service worker -- Waiter, waitress, busboy, hairdresser, cosmetologist, manicurist, barber, practical nurse or nurse's aide, etc., baker, chef, cook, other service worker (household worker, bartender, masseur, etc.).

11. Unskilled worker -- Railroad worker, driver, farm worker, ranch laborer, mining worker, quarrying worker, oil-drilling worker, other laborer.

12. Outdoors -- Recreation worker, sports player, farm or ranch owner, manager, outdoor worker (forestry, fishing, gardening, etc.).

13. All other.

worker category, and this is true for the male dropouts as well. More than 20 percent of the males held jobs as skilled workers. The greatest difference in jobs between male graduates and dropouts is in the clerical-sales category. Nearly 20 percent of the graduates and only about 10 percent of the dropouts were employed in jobs of this sort.

About three-fourths of the female high school graduates were employed in the clerical-sales types of jobs, while for the female dropouts, the percentage for one class was approximately 30. Female dropouts were employed largely as service workers, unskilled workers, and clerical-sales workers. The clerical-sales category includes both jobs such as stenographer--for which many high schools offer training--and sales-clerk, which is a job that usually requires very little specific training but does demand academic skills and work habits.

JOB COMPETENCIES OF YOUNG ADULTS

Relevant data regarding the types of competencies required for successful occupational performance were recently obtained by the Adult Performance Level (APL) Project, directed by Norvell Northcutt, Division of Extension, The University of Texas at Austin.[5] This project--

1. Developed and validated a series of objectives which comprise adult functional competency.

2. Conducted a series of national assessments of performance of adults with respect to these objectives.

3. Created, as a by-product of the research, a prototype test of adult functional competency.[6]

In the first year of the study, a taxonomy of adult needs was developed, which came to be called "general knowledge areas." These general areas, which were considered as the content of adult literacy, are (1) consumer economics; (2) occupational (or occupationally related) knowledge: (3) community resources; (4) health; and (5) government and law.

> Having identified the general knowledge areas which seemed to be the most critical to adult performance related to the acquisition of literacy, data which had been obtained were then reanalyzed. This time, however, the concern was not with the content of literacy but with the skills involved. Four primary skills seemed to account for the vast majority of requirements placed on adults. These skills were named (1) communication skills (reading, writing, speaking, and listening); (2) computation skills; (3) problem-solving skills; and (4) interpersonal relations skills.[7]

The objectives of the occupational knowledge area are stated as follows:

Objectives for Functional Competency — Occupational Knowledge

GOAL: To develop a level of occupational knowledge which will enable adults to secure employment in accordance with their individual needs and interests.

1. Objective: To build an oral and written vocabulary related to occupational knowledge.

2. Objective: To identify sources of information (e.g., radio broadcasts, newspapers, etc.) which may lead to employment.

3. Objective: To define occupational categories in terms of the education and job experience required, and to know minimum requirements of given occupations.

4. Objective: To be aware of vocational testing and counseling methods which help prospective employees recognize job interests and qualifications.

5. Objective: To understand the differences among commercial employment agencies, government employment agencies, and private employers.

6. Objective: To prepare for job applications and interviews.

7. Objective: To know standards of behavior for various types of employment.

8. Objective: To know attributes and skills which may lead to promotion.

9. Objective: To know the financial and legal aspects of employment.

10. Objective: To understand aspects of employment other than financial which would affect the individual's satisfaction with a job.[8]

The project staff wrote performance indicators for each competency that requires the adult to employ communication, computation, problem-solving, and interpersonal relations skills in a variety of adult-related situations.[9]

The performance indicators were developed into a series of interview schedules and administered to a representative sample of adults drawn from the continental United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii. The final stage of the project was to determine "meaningful and well-defined competency levels from data gathered in the surveys." This determination was accomplished by (1) examining the performance of the population on an objective-by-objective basis, and (2) describing the overall competency in terms of three levels, based on an aggregate index, called simply APL 1, APL 2, and APL 3.

APL 1--Adults who function with difficulty.

APL 1's are those adults whose mastery of competence objectives is associated with:

1. Inadequate income of poverty level or less.
2. Inadequate education of eight years of school or fewer.
3. Unemployment or occupations of low job status.

APL 2--Functional Adults.

APL 2's are those adults whose mastery of competence objectives is associated with:

1. Income of more than poverty level but no discretionary income.
2. Education of nine to eleven years of school.
3. Occupations falling in medial job status range.

APL 3--Proficient Adults.

APL 3's are those adults whose mastery of competence objectives is associated with:

1. High levels of income or varying amounts of discretionary income.
2. High levels of education, high school completion or more.
3. High levels of job status.[10]

The report of the project provides data on the levels of competency of adults with regard to the occupational information only for the total sample, not by age, education, ethnicity, or other interest variables. For the total national sample, 19.1 percent functioned with difficulty in the occupational knowledge area. In the area of consumer economics, 29.4 percent of the adults in the sample functioned with difficulty, 25.8 percent in the area of government and the law, 21.3 percent in the area of health, and 22.6 percent in the area of community resources. Among the skills, computation was the skill in which the largest percentage of adults functioned with difficulty, 32.9 percent.

The project director plans to publish in the near future more information regarding the competencies of young adults in the occupational knowledge area. In the meantime, the analyses for the total assessment are presented in the following table.

Table 5

Analysis of Adult Performance Levels by Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Variables	APL Competency Levels (in Percentages)		
	1	2	3
Education			
0-3 years	85	10	6
4-5	84	16	0
6-7	49	37	14
8-11	18	55	27
High School Completed	11	37	52
Some College	9	27	64
College Graduate Plus	2	17	80
Family Income			
Under $5,000	40	39	21
$5,000-$6,999	20	44	36
$7,000-$9,999	24	39	37
$10,000-$14,999	14	34	52
$15,000 Plus	8	26	66
Job Status			
Unskilled	30	38	32
Semiskilled	29	42	29
Skilled	24	33	43
Clerical - Sales	8	38	54
Professional - Managerial	11	28	61
Age			
18-29	16	35	49
30-39	11	29	60
40-49	19	32	49
50-59	28	37	35
60-65	35	40	24
Sex			
Male	17	31	52
Female	23	35	42
Ethnicity			
White	16	34	50
Black	44	39	17
Spanish Surname	56	26	18
Other	26	41	33
Occupational Status			
Employed	15	28	57
Unemployed	36	30	34
Housewives	27	38	35
Number in Household			
1 Person	21	23	56
2 - 3	20	35	45
4 - 5	19	31	50
6 - 7	21	33	46
8 Plus	43	22	35
Region			
Northeast	16	36	48
North Central	15	42	43
South	25	37	38
West	15	35	50
Metropolitan Areas			
1 Million Plus	21	39	40
Under 1 Million	15	38	47
Suburb	21	32	47
Urban	14	29	57

The parts of this table that are most relevant to the employability of youth are those analyzing the data by education, job status, age, ethnicity, and occupational status. Among young adults 18 to 29, 16 percent are reported to be functioning with difficulty. Of adults who have completed 8 to 11 years of schooling, 18 percent function with difficulty. Of those who have graduated from high school but have not attended college, 11 percent function with difficulty, while of those with some college, 9 percent function with difficulty. Among the white adults, 16 percent function with difficulty whereas 44 percent of the black adults and 56 percent of those with Spanish surnames are at this level. Among the employed, 15 percent are at level APL 1, while 57 percent are at level APL 3. Unemployed adults are almost evenly distributed among the three levels of competency.

ASSESSMENT OF CAREER AND OCCUPATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In 1974, the National Assessment of Educational Progress asked a national sample of 17-year-olds a variety of questions designed to measure achievement of five broad objectives of career and occupational development. These objectives are--

- To prepare for making career decisions.
- To improve career and occupational capabilities.
- To possess skills that are generally useful in the world of work.
- To practice effective work habits.
- To have positive attitudes toward work.

As mentioned earlier, sufficient funds were not available to assess the specialized job skills of these young people. However, some relevant scattered data have been summarized that throw some light on the extent to which 17-year-olds have attained some of the objectives listed above.

With regard to knowing their own characteristics relevant to career decisions, only 40 percent of the 17-year-olds have ever taken an aptitude test. When presented with pictures of persons working at their occupations, 96 percent recognized a veterinarian, 93 percent a lawyer, 91 percent a baker, 90 percent a longshoreman, 88 percent a draftsman, 87 percent a heavy-equipment operator, 86 percent a locksmith, 84 percent a TV repairman, 79 percent a bank teller, 78 percent a travel clerk, 66 percent an architect, 65 percent a meteorologist, and 19 percent a machinist. Their knowledge of some of the chief requirements of these occupations was closely parallel to their recognition of the pictures. Their knowledge of the educational requirements for these occupations was on the average about 75 percent correct.

With regard to career planning, 62 percent had discussed it with their parents, 38 percent with their peers, 35 percent with a school counselor, and only 14 percent with a teacher.

In preparing a job-wanted ad, 62 percent correctly described the job sought, but only 47 percent listed their own qualifications relevant to the job. On the other hand, in filling out a job application where the job was described, 82 percent listed relevant qualifications that they thought they possessed, but only 9 percent correctly stated references that could be consulted. From these results, it appears probable that most 17-year-olds are not skillful in career planning or in job seeking. They are knowledgeable about some of the features of occupations that they have observed or that are depicted in the media, but few know about the characteristics of the work of the machinist or other technical workers. Neither their study in school nor their experience in chores and part-time jobs have given them a realistic and comprehensive understanding of the world of work.

ACADEMIC SKILLS

Reading, computation, and writing are skills that are helpful if not essential for initial employment. The National Assessment of Educational Progress furnishes data on periodic testing of these skills for a national probability sample of 9-year-olds, 13-year-olds, 17-year-olds, and young adults ages 26 to 35, inclusive. The results for 17-year-olds are relevant to estimates of youth employability.

Reading

In 1974, a special study of reading was commissioned by The National Right to Read effort. The following is quoted from the report of this study.

> The first Mini-Assessment of Functional Literacy (MAFL) was administered in 1974 to 5,200 17-year-olds then enrolled in school. They were statistically selected to represent the entire population of in-school 17-year-olds in America. The young people were asked to answer questions and complete tasks in reading, which had been selected by a panel of reading specialists appointed by the Right to Read. These exercises were judged to be examples of basic everyday reading tasks. According to the specialists, *all* 17-year-olds should be able to complete the MAFL exercises if they are to function adequately in everyday life.
>
> The exercises included such questions as:
>
> - Here are pictures of four doors you might find in a school. Fill in the oval under the door where you might go for lunch. (The doors were labeled Principal, Nurse, Cafeteria, and Library.)
>
> - How many additional books must you buy? (One of several questions about a reprinted book-club announcement.)

- Must a person appear at the Traffic Violation Bureau to plead "not guilty" to a traffic offense? (One of several questions about a replica of a traffic ticket.)

All groups in the mini-assessment did best at reading tasks involving drawings and pictures and second best on those concerned with charts, maps, and graphs. The poorest performance was shown on reference materials and reading exercises involving forms.

All groups understood word meanings best and drew inferences least well. Performance on other skills was mixed.

Whites did better than blacks on all reading exercises, with an average difference of 14.1 percentage points in favor of whites.

Among communities, the young people who did best in reading were from big-city schools in areas where a high percentage of parents of the students held professional, white-collar jobs.

Those students who did least well in all categories were from big-city schools where a high percentage of parents of the students were unemployed or on welfare. The average difference between the two groups was 10.7 percentage points.

The young people whose parents had some formal education past high school generally did best on all reading exercises, while those whose parents had no high school education did least well. The average difference between the two groups was 3.7 percentage points. Those who had at least one parent who graduated from high school ranked second, and those whose parents had some high school, but had not graduated, were third.

In only four groups and in five reading categories did the average drop below 80 percent achieving at the level expected. They were:

- Blacks, over all exercises (79.1%) and on passages (79.4%), forms (75.7%), reference materials (72.1%), gleaning significant facts (79.7%), and drawing inferences (63.9%).

- Those whose parents had no high school education were below 80% on reference materials (79.4%) and drawing inferences (74.2%).

- Those whose parents had some high school were below 80% on drawing inferences (78.6%).

- Those in low metro areas were below 80% on reference materials (79.1%) and on drawing inferences (72.9%).[11]

Perhaps the most succinct answer to the question of the reading skills of America's 17-year-olds is that 91 percent of all those in the sample answered the exercises correctly. Those living in affluent city areas answered 96 percent correctly, while those living in the inner city answered 87 percent of the exercises correctly. A vast majority of youth can read material that is necessary for effective functioning, but about 20 percent of the least-advantaged young people cannot.

Computation

During the 1972-73 school year, NAEP conducted an assessment of mathematical knowledge and skills. The 17-year-olds completed computations using integers, fractions, decimals, and percentages. Over 90 percent correctly answered the addition, subtraction, and division problems involving whole numbers. The percentage was slightly lower (88 percent) for multiplication. The number of correct responses was lower for computing with percentages. Overall, the percentage of correct responses on operations with real numbers was 77, but the percentage varied with demographic factors as it did in reading. The percentage of correct responses for black youth was 56; for white youth, it was 81. For those whose parents had not attended high school, the percentage was 61, while for those whose parents had more than a high school education, the percentage was 85. For those living in the inner city, the percentage was 62, while for those living in affluent metropolitan areas, the percentage was 87.

Although most 17-year-olds can compute correctly, the percentage is significantly lower for computation than for reading. It is likely that this difference reflects the difference in opportunity or demand for the use of these skills outside of school. Even TV programs demand some reading by the viewer, and since the average American child spends more time each year viewing TV than he spends in school, this demand for reading is an important part of the development of simple reading skills. On the other hand, there are far fewer opportunities or demands for young people to compute.

Common Uses of Mathematics

Effective functioning on most jobs, as well as in the home, usually involves some simple uses of mathematics. The National Assessment included exercises representing some of these common uses. The results indicate that many 17-year-olds (and young adults) are not able to answer these exercises correctly. For example, only 34 percent of the 17-year-olds correctly answered the following exercise:

> A housewife will pay the lower price per ounce for rice if she buys it at the store which offers--
>
> 12 ounces for 40 cents
> 14 ounces for 45 cents
> 1 pound, 12 ounces for 85 cents
> 2 pounds for 99 cents.

On similar tasks involving other products, the results were about 40 percent correct responses. An exercise involving a comparison between the cash and credit price for an automobile brought 56 percent correct responses. However, an exercise asking for a comparison of costs per square foot for housing floor space elicited only 21 percent correct responses.

Other exercises involved using tax tables, computing property taxes and costs over time and distance, filling out an order blank, balancing a checkbook, and solving household problems. The correct responses varied from 1 percent in balancing a checkbook to 75 percent in using a tax table. The median percentage correct on all these exercises was about 40. The conclusion that these differences are related to differences in experience is indicated by the fact that only 16 percent of the 17-year-olds stated that they had a checking account at some time and only 9 percent had actually balanced their own accounts. This finding compares with about three-fourths who had used a sales tax table. Opportunities outside of school for the use of skills being taught in school are important in developing and maintaining these abilities. Skills are lost or are only partially maintained when opportunities for use do not exist or occur only sporadically.

Writing

The first national assessment of writing was administered to 17-year-olds in the spring of 1969. The second assessment was administered five years later (spring 1974). Although both assessments consisted of a number of survey questions and multiple-choice and essay tasks, the NAEP report[12] deals with only one of the essay tasks that was required in both assessments. This task was presented to the 17-year-olds as follows:

> Everybody knows of something that is worth talking about. Maybe you know about a famous building like the Empire State Building in New York City or something like the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. Or you might know a lot about the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City or the new sports stadium in Atlanta or St. Louis. Or you might be familiar with something from nature, like Niagara Falls, a gigantic wheat field, a grove of oranges, or a part of a wide, muddy river like the Mississippi.
>
> There is probably something you can describe. Choose something you know about. It may be something from around

> where you live, or something you have seen while traveling, or something you have studied in school. Think about it a while and then write a description of what it looks like so that it could be recognized by someone who has read your description.
>
> Name what you are describing and try to use your best writing.[13]
>
> The scoring involved two different approaches to the papers.
>
> First, the essays were scored "holistically"--a term derived from this method's emphasis on a reader's response to the whole essay rather than to such aspects of it as style, content, mechanics and so on. Holistic scoring has long been used to evaluate essays written for the College Boards and many other college entrance examinations. . . . Readers, all of them experienced English Teachers, were trained in the usual fashion by rating training papers -- i.e., papers exemplifying each score point from 1 (the lowest qualifying score) to 8 -- until they had internalized the scoring system. Then each read an essay and gave it a score from 1 to 8.
>
> The second scoring approach was descriptive, rather than evaluative. Another group of English teachers -- all with considerable experience in grammar and linguistics --examined each essay according to the scoring guide. These readers coded each paragraph and sentence for its type (simple sentence, complex sentence with phrase, fragment, etc.) and coded each mechanical error found (comma used when none required, phonetic misspelling, fused sentences, etc.)

The following table presents the results of the holistic scoring of the 1969 and 1974 essays written by 17-year-olds.

Table 6

Percentage of Essays Written by 17-Year-Olds
Receiving Particular Holistic Scores
1969 and 1974

	Low			Score				High
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1969	0.3	1.8	12.6	15.7	27.6	26.3	13.2	2.5
1974	1.9	5.1	14.4	17.0	23.1	21.0	13.7	3.1

It is interesting to note that in 1969, 85.3 percent of the essays were scored in the middle and good categories, while in 1974, only 77.9 percent were so scored. In 1969, 2.1 percent were scored in the very low categories, 1 and 2; while in 1974, 7 percent were so rated. However, in the two highest categories, there were 16.8 percent of the 1974 essays, as compared to 15.7 percent of the 1969 essays. The decline in the average holistic score from 5.1 in 1969 to 4.9 in 1974 is largely due to the larger percentage of low-scoring essays and not to a smaller percentage of high-scoring ones.

In an examination of the results of the descriptive scoring, several points are of interest. The average percentage of coherent paragraphs in the 1969 essays was 85, while for the 1974 essays, the percentage was 76. Other significant changes between 1969 and 1974 were in the decrease in sentences with phrases from 76 percent to 70 percent, the decrease in complex sentences with phrases from 31 percent to 26 percent, and the increase in run-on sentences from 7 percent to 10 percent.

If the adequacy of writing skills for initial employment is estimated by the percentage of 17-year-olds whose essays are scored middle or above, about 80 percent qualify (85.3 percent in 1969 and 77.9 percent in 1974). If it is estimated from the percentage of coherent paragraphs written, this figure was 85 percent in 1969 and 76 percent in 1974. As with reading and computation, about 20 percent of the 17-year-olds do not demonstrate adequacy in writing skills.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC SKILLS

Academic skills are learned, and the conditions required for the learning of any complex behavior must be present for the learning to take place. Chief among these conditions are the learner's interest in acquiring the skill; his perception of what it is he is trying to learn; the assignment of practice tasks that are within his present capabilities to perform; the obtaining of satisfaction when he performs learning tasks successfully (when he fails to perform a learning task successfully, he should get feedback and encouragement to try again); and the provision of opportunities to practice outside of school what he is learning in school. In the contemporary American context, young people develop interest in learning new behavior from their experiences outside of school, particularly in the home, in their relations with peers, and in their work. The in-school and out-of-school experiences both contribute to an accurate perception of what the skill is that the young person needs to learn. The school is chiefly responsible for providing initial practice tasks that are within his capability to perform and to see that he obtains satisfaction from successful performance and feedback, with encouragement to try again when he fails to perform a learning task. The home and the other community institutions must usually furnish the opportunities to practice outside the school what he learns in school.

The data from the National Assessment suggest that young people who come from homes where parents have been to college are in situations where most of the essential conditions for academic learning are being met, but those who come from homes of poverty where the parents have had little schooling are not in situations where all of the conditions for effective learning are present. Unfortunately, the latter category of young people are most in need of employment when they finish high school. Clearly, the contemporary society does not furnish a satisfactory environment in which they can develop academic skills. Some reform is necessary.

COMMENTS ON PARTICULAR QUESTIONS

The jobs obtained by young people who do not go to college largely fall into two categories: those requiring systematic instruction for several weeks or more; and those that require little or no specific training. In the first group of jobs are those such as stenographer, barber, beautician, and jobs in the skilled trades, while most other jobs are in the second category. The majority of stenographers received their training in high school, and a smaller proportion gained initial competence through training in proprietary schools. Those who have difficulty in their initial job performance report that spelling and punctuation are their chief problems. Barbers and beauticians generally obtained their training at proprietary schools, and no data were available to indicate their competence at the time of employment. Those in the skilled trades usually were trained in apprentice programs. No data were available to indicate their competence at the time the apprenticeship was completed.

Roughly two-thirds of the initial jobs obtained by young people who did not go to college required very little specialized training. The competencies required are largely academic skills and productive work habits.

The competencies required for locating and securing employment are not well understood by most youth. The reports of 17-year-olds and their performance on test exercises both indicate that this process is confusing and often frustrating to those seeking work.

Due to the operation of the National Assessment of Educational Progress, a great deal is known about the academic competencies of 17-year-old youth. Approximately 80 percent of them can read simple material, compute, and write straightforward descriptions. A smaller proportion can use computation appropriately in common life situations. About 20 percent of the 17-year-olds have not acquired these academic skills. They are largely from homes of poverty, living in inner cities or in rural areas. These skills are basic elements of competency for most of the jobs likely to be obtained by noncollege youth, and they are lacking in the young people who most need employment.

There is no comprehensive information about the competencies of those completing educational programs in proprietary schools or junior or technical colleges.

The values of cooperative education, both in stimulating school learning and in obtaining employment, have been verified by several studies. The earliest comprehensive investigation was that of Wilson and Lyons.[14] This study of college programs of cooperative education produced objective evidence, as well as the opinions of students, employers, and teachers, of the effects of cooperative education on increasing student learning in college, increasing student interest in studies and in work, and developing greater job competence. The study of high school programs by System Development Corporation[15] identified similar values for high school programs. Frankel comments in this report, "Careful matching of students to jobs . . . appears to be one of the most crucial tasks for work education programs." He goes on to state, "The counseling components of all types of programs were relatively ineffective and . . . in the dropout program, in particular, it is fairly common to find students working in jobs in which they have little interest and for which they are overqualified from a cognitive standpoint."[16] This brings up, again, the problem of separating work and education. Learning is natural for human beings in all settings. When engaged in an activity that they wish to carry through successfully, they seek to acquire the behavior necessary for successful performance. For most young people, success in adult-type work is of concern, and given the opportunity to do meaningful work, they will engage in it wholeheartedly. If the work requires no knowledge, skill, or habits that they do not possess, it is likely to become routine and boring. It does not stimulate learning. If success in the activity demands some behavior that the young person has not yet learned, he will attempt to acquire the new behavior. This is the important motivation to learn. If given such guidance as necessary to help him carry on the behavior and to get feedback on his efforts and encouragement to practice, he will learn. This is the reason why work and education need to be well integrated.

In this connection, Graham writes:

> A recent analysis by the RAND Corporation of the potentiality for career education concludes that under present circumstances, employee-based programs in the private sector can be offered to only a small fraction of American adolescents. On the other hand, a survey of action-learning opportunities in public service assignments, such as tutoring, hospital work, and conservation, indicated that under present circumstances, in the public sector alone, all adolescents aged fifteen to twenty-one who meet entry specifications could be employed for over three hours per week, or that four million persons between those ages could be employed full-time for a

year. The employers who were questioned indicated that, with a modest subsidy to cover some of the costs of supervision, and on-the-job training, the number of action-learning opportunities could be increased substantially. And, even in the business sector, it appears that if experiential learning can be shown to achieve its educational purposes, greater numbers of assignments, particularly those of a four-to-eight week, non-paid role-exploratory nature, will open up.[17]

From the standpoint of learning the skills, the habits, and the attitudes important in productive work, the criteria are not primarily the places in which the learning is expected to go on, but the way in which the situations are perceived by the learner. Does he view the situation as one in which he can do adult-type, meaningful work? Does he find things he needs to learn as he gets involved in the work? Does he perceive clearly enough what he needs to learn so that he has a goal in mind to achieve? Do the learning tasks appear to him to be things he can do successfully? Does he get satisfaction when he carries through the learning tasks successfully, and feedback and encouragement when he doesn't? Does he have a good many opportunities to practice what he learns in real adult-type work? These are essential criteria for work-study programs to meet.

A great deal is known about the socialization processes of the poor, especially minority poor, that relate to the learning of competencies for employment. A large proportion of poor parents have had only a few years of schooling and have few or no books in the home, rarely read to their children, or otherwise indicate that reading, writing, and computation are important in their adult lives. The children find few opportunities in such homes to use academic skills. These circumstances are in sharp contrast to the home environment of a majority of parents with college education.

In many homes of poverty, regular habits of working, eating, sleeping and other matters of daily regimen are lacking. Such homes do not furnish adequate conditions for developing the habits of punctuality and industry and the attitudes toward a regular daily schedule and being effective and productive in work that help one meet the usual conditions of work. If the 20 percent of young people who at present have not developed the competencies essential for most adult-type work are to be aided in learning these skills, habits, and attitudes, both the in-school and the out-of-school environments will need to be modified.

The trend data indicate continuing increase in the numbers employed in human service occupations, with corresponding reductions in unskilled labor. This evidence suggests that there will be an increasing demand for academic skills and for skills in interpersonal relations. The data on trends in the proportion of youth who have acquired various kinds of competencies related to employment are not adequate for the drawing of conclusions. Great publicity is currently being given to the decline during the past fourteen years in the mean scores on college admissions tests by high school students, but these tests are not measures of competencies expected for employment in the jobs available to students who do not attend college. The National Assessment thus far has only two time periods, about four years apart, for which to appraise trends. In science, a small decline is reported; in reading, a slight increase; and in writing, a slight decrease. A second assessment in mathematics has not yet been made.

There is no verified published information about the real reasons youth are not employed. At a recent conference on cooperative education, coordinators reported on their conversations with employers and personnel directors. Three reasons were commonly cited for not employing youth:

- When unemployment among adult workers is high, the company would be severely criticized for employing youth rather than unemployed adults.

- At the present minimum wage level, most youth are not yet competent enough to earn the minimum wage.

- Unions object to the employment of youth.

On the other hand, as Frankel points out, those employers who have programs of cooperative education are generally satisfied with the quality and quantity of the work done by the students that they employ on a part-time basis. Unfortunately, the most disadvantaged youth generally have fewer competencies than others and have rarely been selected for cooperative employment. It is probable, however, that special provisions would be necessary to enable these youth to gain needed competencies as they are involved in work programs. At present, it is a vicious circle: disadvantaged youth are not well motivated to learn what the schools teach because they fail to see the relevance to their own lives. Having a job that demands certain skills, habits, and attitudes is likely to create the motivation for learning, but disadvantaged youth rarely get a job of this sort because they haven't previously developed the competencies required. New policies and practices are necessary to break out of this circle.

In the development of constructive policies and practices, the American public needs to distinguish between the public school system and the total educational system.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The educational system that furnishes the experiences through which young people learn the things required to participate constructively in our modern, industrialized society includes much more than the school. What the young person experiences in the home, in his social activities in the community, in the chores and jobs he carries on, in the religious institutions where he participates, in his reading, in his listening to radio and viewing of TV, and in the school--all are included in the actual educational system through which he acquires his knowledge and ideas, his skills and habits, his attitudes and interests, and his basic values. The school is an important part of this educational system in furnishing the opportunity to learn to read, write, and compute and to discover and use the sources of facts, principles, and ideas that are more accurate, balanced, and comprehensive than are those provided in most homes, work places, or other social institutions. The school also supplements and complements learning furnished by the other institutions and is usually an environment that more nearly represents American social ideals. In most schools, each student is respected as a human being without discrimination, the transactions in the classroom are guided by an attempt to be fair and to dispense justice, and the class morale is a reflection of the fact that the members care about the welfare of others.

In the past, experiences in the home, the work situation, and the school have made somewhat different contributions to the development of American youth. Most young people have acquired their basic habits of orderliness, punctuality, and attention to work primarily through experiences in the home and in work settings, with helpful supplementation of the school's regimen. The meaning and importance of productive work were developed through participation in family chores and in the part-time jobs in which the young people commonly worked under close supervision, with critical appraisals made of their efforts--for example, mowing lawns, shoveling snow, preparing meals, doing laundry, delivering newspapers, and working in stores and shops. Productivity in working on school assignments does not impress young people as having the same social importance as productivity in doing chores and working on other jobs. Developing an interest in productivity and the desire to be productive are important factors in the education of youth for constructive work roles, but they have not been chiefly acquired through school experiences.

Learning to take responsibility for a task and accepting the consequences of success or failure in performing it are other important aspects of education for adult work roles not primarily learned in school. Responsibility for doing one's school assignments does not have the same meaning for a young person as being responsible for work directly affecting others, the consequences of which will be judged by others. Adolescents commonly vacillate between the desire to take large responsibilities and the fear of failure. Hence, learning to take responsibility and to bear the consequences requires considerable experience, with gradual increase in the degree of responsibility and in the seriousness of the consequences of failure, paralleling the increase in the competence and confidence of the youth. The school alone can contribute only a minor range of learning experiences for this purpose.

Situations that are perceived by young people as clearly real and adultlike are necessary. This means that the opportunities to experience such situations must be furnished in business, industry, agriculture, health agencies, civil service, social agencies, and the like: the institutions in the community where adults take responsibility and where real consequences follow. The school can help to find these opportunities for youth, can help to organize them for effective and sequential learning, and to supervise them to assure that educational values are being attained, but the school alone has very limited capabilities for educating youth in this important area.

The traditional role of the school in teaching academic skills and knowledge has not commonly included the responsibility for development of realistic knowledge of the "modern world of work" in terms of the functions of various kinds of economic institutions, the roles of different persons who work in them, the ways in which an individual can find employment in different kinds of settings, and so on. This lack has been noted by a number of groups and individuals over the past half century, but there has not yet been widespread adoption of this responsibility by the school, accompanied by an educational program likely to achieve the desired goal.

The school can also contribute to the development of social skills that are essential to effective work in service occupations and in group settings in all vocations. Schools are societies in microcosm, where children and youth communicate, cooperate, and compete, and generally carry on their transactions without serious conflict or the arousal of intense antagonism. Opinion polls of youth report that the young people are generally well satisified with the social environment of their schools. Most schools appear to contribute positively to the development of the kind of social skills essential to many kinds of work situations.

In educational systems of the past, the several parts had certain interdependent features. The student's interest in learning what the school sought to teach was usually stimulated in other parts of the system, in the home, in the working place, and in the social life of the community, so that the school did not need to develop particular motivation for learning on the part of the majority of students. Furthermore, as skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic were developed in the school, the student found many opportunities for their use in his activities outside the school, particularly in work and in recreation. Skills quickly become inoperative when their use is infrequent. If the only reading required of youth is that assigned in school, reading skills do not reach a mature level. If writing is limited to an occasional note or letter, writing skills remain very primitive. If arithmetic is not used in such home activities as consumer buying, furniture construction, and budgeting, or in outside work, arithmetic skills and problem-solving are likely to be haphazard. Hence, the total educational system should be viewed as one in which practice as well as initial learning is provided.

Particular occupational skills can be classified into two categories: variants of basic skills, and specific specialized skills. The latter are so numerous and of such variety in the contemporary society that there seems no alternative to their being learned on the job or in a training program for a particular job. Acquiring such skills in advance of employment in the occupation is wasteful, both for the individual and for society.

On the other hand, the learning of particular occupational skills that are variants of a small number of basic skills could be something in which the school plays a major role. These skills include the use of common hand tools in construction and repair, the preparing and serving of typical foods, simple processes for cleaning and repairing clothing, and the use of common office equipment. They can be taught as illustrations from which the student can learn to generalize. For example, in the case of learning to use tools, the steps involve understanding common purposes for which a tool is used, finding various ways in which the tool can be used for these purposes, practicing the use of the tool in several contexts, finding or inventing two or more variants for the tool, and finding out how one adapts his performance to fit variations of the tool. Similar generalized learning can be developed for other occupational competencies.

The main point to be made prior to considering changes in policies and practices is that the educational system is more than just the school system. In the recent period of rapid social change, the educational roles of the home, the community, religious institutions, and employment have been greatly changed. Generally, they have been reduced. Only the school is maintaining approximately the same role with the same amount of time annually for its work with children and youth. As the educational expectations of the public do not seem to be realized in the performance of youth, the common view seems to be that the schools have failed rather than that there should be an examination of the total educational system to identify malfunctioning.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- The educational system at the community level should be explicitly recognized and responsibly organized to provide comprehensive educational opportunities for young people. This means that some form of community council or board is necessary to assess educational needs, to identify actual and potential resources (including the schools), and to develop the outline of educational programs to meet the educational problems.

- Certain educational task forces or councils should be formed to serve the larger metropolitan area or region for educational needs that cannot well be met within the local community. Occupational education is an excellent illustration of an educational need that cannot be adequately provided for in most local communities. Since this is the most obvious need that requires a setting larger than the community, it could be the first to be organized. Among the initial responsibilities would be the inventorying of resources in the area that could be utilized in occupational education and the identifying of the problems and difficulties to be overcome in developing an effective and practicable program. Since locating and obtaining a job are competencies few young persons have acquired, the occupational task force could make this problem one for early attack.

- At the state level, necessary legislation should be enacted for authorizing the community and the metropolitan organizations to express the policy of the state toward encouraging and providing support for the development and maintenance of a comprehensive educational system, and to repeal existing legislation, if any, that limits educational programs to those within the school or within certain specified time periods.

- At the national level, the Congress should be asked to adopt a resolution endorsing comprehensive educational programs and stating a national policy to encourage the full development of human resources. The federal government should authorize support for, and appropriate funds to encourage and assist, the development of community councils and metropolitan task forces to establish and maintain comprehensive educational systems.

- The data needed for meaningful career guidance and occupation planning are not now available. The Department of Labor should be asked to develop a data collection and reporting system that would be useful at the metropolitan level.

The intent of these proposed policies is to develop a recognized and responsible educational system to replace the informal and eroding one that now exists. As a nation, we have progressed a considerable distance in enabling a major fraction of our young people to acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required for a responsible and productive life in a complex society. But the 20 to 25 percent of our youth who have not learned these competencies require specially designed opportunities to enable them to learn the basic skills and to take on increasing responsibility in activities that involve production and service to others. It appears now that many more youth may have difficulty in making the transition to responsible adulthood because of the further erosion of learning experiences in the home, in the community, and in the work place. The vitality and stability of our political, economic, and social institutions are dependent on the effectiveness of the educational system. That system must not be permitted to disintegrate.

NOTES

1. James R. Chromy and Lanny L. Piper, *A Survey of High School Seniors to Determine Responses to the Job Skills Sampling . Questionnaire* Research Triangle Institute Final Report 25U-814 (October 1973).

2. John C. Flanagan and William W. Cooley, *Project Talent: One-Year Follow-Up Studies* (University of Pittsburgh, 1966), chap. 3.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.

4. *Ibid.*, p. D-2.

5. Norvell Northcutt, *Adult Functional Competency: A Summary,* The University of Texas, Division of Extention (Austin, 1975).

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. A-2, A-3.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

11. National Assessment of Educational Progress, "Functional Literacy, Basic Reading Performance, A Brief Summary," Education Commission of the States, Denver, 1975.

12. National Assessment of Educational Progress, "Writing Mechanics, 1969-1974," Education Commission of the United States, Denver, 1975.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

14. James W. Wilson and Edward H. Lyons, *Work-Study College Programs* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961).

15. Steven Frankel et al., "Case Studies of Fifty Representative Work Education Programs," System Development Corporation, Santa Monica, 1973.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Richard Graham, "Youth and Experiential Learning," chap. 9 in *Youth*, National Society for the Study of Education, 74th Yearbook, pt. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 185-86.

CHAPTER 6

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR YOUTH

Robert Taggart

Teenagers and young adults have been a major target group of employment and training efforts. Three-fifths of first-time enrollees in federal manpower programs were under age 22 in fiscal 1974, and 46 percent were aged 18 or less. Services to youths cost over a billion dollars, and these obligations accounted for more than half of all manpower expenditures (Table 1). The number of youthful enrollees and concomitant expenditures increased by three-fifths between fiscal 1967 and fiscal 1974. It is too early to tell what will occur under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), but in the first year, youth retained their share of the expanding manpower pie.

There is great diversity in these manpower efforts for youths. Under the old categorical programs, first-time obligations per enrollee ranged from $3,300 under the Job Corps in fiscal 1974 to $540 for the in-school Neighborhood Youth Corps program (NYC) and $470 for summer NYC. Between these extremes, expenditures ranged from $1,300 under the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) and $1,600 under the NYC out-of-school program to $2,200 under the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) and $2,800 under the Manpower Development and Training Act-Institutional Program (MDTA). To varying degrees these different programs emphasized training, work experience, and other pre-employment assistance (such as assessment, placement, and counseling). The Job Corps was an attempt at the complete remediation of the most disadvantaged youths. The MDTA-Institutional and On-the-Job Training (OJT) programs, as well as JOBS, emphasized training. The Concentrated Employment and Work Incentive (WIN) programs offered a variety of pre-employment services to all enrollees, plus training to a minority. The out-of-school NYC was similar, but with somewhat greater emphasis on work experience. The in-school and summer NYC programs offered little more than work experience, income supplements, and caretaking. In contrast, some lucky youths were hired to fill more meaningful jobs created under the Emergency Employment Act (EEA). A similarly wide range of activities is being funded under CETA.

It has proved difficult to determine the success of these efforts for several reasons. With disadvantaged adults a sorting process has already occurred; educational attainment and work history can be used to compare those receiving aid with similar individuals who are not.

Table 1

Youth Participation in Employment and Training Programs, Fiscal 1967-1974

	1967	1970	1974
	(thousands)		
First-time enrollments[1]			
Under 19	481	553	889
Under 22	700	716	1133
Total	833	1051	1918
	(percent)		
Under 19 as percent of total	58%	53%	46%
Under 22 as percent of total	84%	68%	59%
	(thousands)		
Obligations[2]			
Under 19	556	588	864
Under 22	718	817	1169
Total	1056	1418	2143
	(percent)		
Under 19 as percent of total	53%	41%	40%
Under 22 as percent of total	68%	58%	55%

[1] Youth enrollments in the major work and training programs administered by the Department of Labor are estimated by multiplying first-time enrollments by the proportion of youth among all enrollees. There is no correction for possible double-counting.

[2] Obligations are estimated by multiplying total program obligations by the proportion of youth among enrollees. This overstates the actual resources going to youth, since their dropout rates are greater and they usually receive less intensive treatment.

SOURCE: Manpower Report of the President, 1971 and 1974. Statistical Appendix, Sec. F. Manpower Program Statistics.

With youth who have not yet been subject to this sorting process, any demographically defined subgroup will contain individuals with widely varying potential. The 16-year-old college-bound student and the 16-year-old-ghetto-schooled dropout may both have limited work histories, low earnings, and 11 years of education. Comparisons between participants and controls are extremely hazardous because potential cannot be accurately measured and because it may be causally related to participation. The rapid changes experienced by youth also make it difficult to determine the effectiveness of intervention strategies, since so many things are happening and since the consequences may be manifested only with time. Long-range follow-up requires extremely--indeed unachieveably--well-matched control groups, since innate differences will magnify with time.

These inherent analytical problems must be recognized in considering employment and training efforts for youths. The proof of success or failure is even less rigorous than under other manpower efforts. The known facts can narrow the range of uncertainty to some extent, but rarely enough to provide the "hard" answers needed for policy decisions. The only recourse is to accept the caveats, to distill some of the general lessons, and then to try to interpret the results in the light of reasonable assumptions and sympathetic experiences.

COMPLETE REMEDIATION

The Job Corps was the most ambitious of all federal manpower initiatives. Its avowed purpose was to take poor youths aged 16 to 21 years, remove them from their debilitating environments, and provide them with all the services necessary to increase their employability. The Job Corps continues to offer intensive assistance to the most disadvantaged youths. In fiscal 1974, more than three-fifths of the 46,000 enrollees were nonwhite; two-fifths came from families on welfare; 90 percent had less than a high school education; and half had less than a sixth grade achievement level. To meet their severe needs, corpsmen are provided a little of everything -- medical and dental checkups, orientation, counseling, work experience, basic classroom education, vocational training, and planned recreation. Room and board and supervision are offered, along with a modest living allowance. Such comprehensive services for the severely disadvantaged are costly. The direct cost per man-year was $6,800 in fiscal 1974 and indirect costs (capital expenses and federal overhead) pushed the total to $9,200.[1] In accordance with budget ceilings imposed in 1967, extras such as recreation activities, expensive counseling, long trips, and some other services were eliminated, which held direct costs constant and reduced them by a third in real terms. Further economies, however, could only come by the cutting back of essential services or the eliminating of residence altogether. Total remediation for the severely disadvantaged is simply an expensive proposition.

Total remediation also takes time, and many corpsmen leave before the program can be expected to register much of an input. In 1974, one-fourth of enrollees dropped out after less than 30 days, and half did not finish the three months considered a minimum for completion. The average duration of enrollment, 5.5 months, was only half a month higher than in 1967. Nonresidential centers and urban centers drawing on area residents tried to combat the homesickness presumed to cause high drop-out rates, but completion rates were no higher in these centers and absenteeism was a major problem. Apparently, only a minority of disadvantaged youths are willing or able to benefit from extended treatment.

Experimentation with different service strategies and mixes has not yielded any single, demonstrably more effective formula for treating disadvantaged youths. There were originally three types of centers: men's urban centers stressing vocational education and serving the better educated; conservation centers located in rural areas and serving less well educated males; and separate women's urban centers providing training mostly for clerical positions. Residential and support manpower centers were opened in the 1970's to serve youths in their own backyard and to experiment with different mixes of services. Private firms ran some of these various centers, while public agencies operated others. There was diversity in vocational concentrations and in center environments. Yet no model proved pre-eminently successful and there was very little progress in determining which type of participant would do best at any particular type of center or with any specific set of services.

The major change that seemed to make a difference was an increased emphasis on placement. In the early years of the Job Corps, it was assumed that completers could return home and find jobs on their own once they had attained some education or job skills. This proved false for many, so efforts by the Job Corps, the Employment Service, and nonprofit agencies were intensified. Of special significance was the development of union training programs. The Job Corps contracted with various construction unions to provide preapprenticeship training in the centers. Completers could then move into relatively higher paying jobs at union wage scales. This has raised placement rates and average wage gains of enrollees by a significant margin in the last few years.

The effectiveness of the Job Corps was hotly debated in the 1960's and technical studies yielded mixed evidence. Follow-up data suggested major improvements for enrollees, with earnings rising by four-fifths between entry and six months after termination. Gains declined, however, at the 12 and 18 months points. Enrollees did somewhat better than "no-shows" who had been accepted for training but had not participated. The unanswered question was whether the future benefits equaled the costs of such extensive assistance. One study, commissioned by the Office of Economic Opportunity, found that benefits exceeded costs; another, commissioned by the General Accounting Office (GAO), using the same data but different assumptions, concluded that the human resource investment was decidedly unprofitable.

Whatever the uncertainties of such benefit/cost studies, there is no doubt that the "rate of return" on the Job Corps investment has improved in the 1970s. In the first half of fiscal 1969, 53 percent of terminees available for placement were employed upon termination and another 11 percent returned to school or went into the armed forces. Despite the higher national unemployment rates in fiscal 1974, two-thirds of terminees were employed and another fifth went back to school or into the military. Average learning rates rose from .18 grades per month to .26, and whatever the relationship between education and earnings, multiplied the long-run benefits from this source. Operating costs stabilized despite inflation. In other words, benefits have risen, while real costs have declined.

Whatever its operational effectiveness, the Job Corps has been useful as a learning experience. It has demonstrated some important lessons about comprehensive remediation of severely disadvantaged youths.

First and most important, the Job Corps demonstrated that the hardest core youths could be changed. Whether it was a temporary or a relearning phenomenon, the education gain rates were quite substantial. Counseling seemed to work, at least as judged by follow-up surveys of relatives and participants that revealed many constructive developments. The critical unknown was the relationship between education, attitude, and employment. Belt tightening reduced counseling with little effect on performance. Education might be expected to pay off for the 10 percent of enrollees getting General Education Development diplomas (GEDs), but for others the only result seemed to be to sort out those who could learn and to give them a sense of self-esteem.

Second, overall Job Corps performance improved rather than deteriorated when many of the frills were slashed. Training and education were narrowed to specific job requirements. The key seemed to be the ability to gain access to better jobs rather than the efforts to alter the attitudes and values of enrollees. For instance, in the construction trades, which accounted for a fourth of all fiscal 1974 placement, the linkages with unions resulted in a 45 percent job/training match and an average hourly wage of $3.04 (compared to $2.23 overall). Women trained in clerical occupations had access to government jobs, resulting in a 52 percent job/training match and an average wage of $2.23. In contrast, where there were no specific linkages with the labor market, better jobs did not result even when training was in low unemployment occupations; only a fourth of trainees in auto and machinery repair were placed in training-related jobs with an average wage of $2.29. Preparation for the secondary labor market resulted in more frequent placement but lesser earnings gains; corpsmen trained in the health occupations could find work, but the average wage was only $2.10.

Third, the Job Corps experience belied the conventional wisdom that training programs would have less success in a slack labor market. Because the program had forged entry routes into some jobs, placement increased in the 1970s despite the nation's economic troubles. The Job Corps, and all other training programs for the disadvantaged, account for only a minute share of all jobseekers. If leverage is exerted, openings can usually be found. It is simplistic, then, to argue that remediation programs must be curtailed during a recession in favor of job creation efforts. Both approaches may be warranted.

TRAINING

As youths begin to look for full-time jobs and to explore career options, they generally lack vocational skills. Most youths acquire these skills through job changes or learning on the job. But some with personal handicaps and the victims of discrimination either cannot make these progressions or else lack the basic skills to get into the internal labor markets that assure brighter futures.

Vocational training can be provided institutionally or on the job. The institutional approach permits more intensive teaching of a broader range of skills yielding greater transferability; this approach also offers a sheltered environment for treating deep-seated employment handicaps such as limited education. The problem is in moving from the classroom to the worksite. Training may not be appropriate to the needs of individual employers, or jobs may prove unavailable in the occupation for which the youth was trained. On-the-job training permits earning while learning. The skills taught are presumably those required by the employers, and there is usually a job at the end of the road for the completer. The drawbacks are the lack of transferability, the difficulty of dealing with the hardest core, who may be unattractive to employers, and the possibility that the jobs will be those that would have been filled by the same types of individuals in the absence of subsidies and other inducements to employers to participate.

The Job Corps is the most comprehensive institutional approach. MDTA-Institutional projects range from those in skill centers, which frequently include education and other services, to less far reaching efforts that focus primarily on vocational training. On-the-job training ranges from the contract JOBS program, which serves the most disadvantaged, to the MDTA-OJT and noncontract JOBS programs, which serve a somewhat more skilled group and which offer them less training. The 1974 MDTA-Institutional program's cost per enrollment opportunity was a third that of the Job Corps but 15 percent above that of JOBS and more than twice that of MDTA-OJT. Yet where nine of ten Job Corps enrollees were less than high school graduates, the figures were only 35 percent in MDTA-Institutional and OJT, and 47 percent under JOBS. In other words, there is a significant difference between the total remediation approach of the Job Corps and that of the other less ambitious training programs.

The weight of evidence suggests that training has favorable and significant impact on all enrollees and that the human resource investments lead to future earnings gains whose current value exceeds program costs.[2] Youthful participants appear to do reasonably well, though they experience higher dropout rates than do older enrollees. Under MDTA-Institutional, 35 percent of fiscal 1974 terminees under age 19 dropped out, compared to 25 percent of those aged 19 to 21 and 20 percent of those aged 22 to 44. Only 39 percent of the 1972 JOBS terminees under age 19 completed their period of on-the-job training, compared with 46 percent of those aged 19 to 21 and 53 percent of those aged 22 to 44.

Those who stay, however, apparently benefit substantially. A longitudinal study of 1964 MDTA-Institutional enrollees and of 1968 JOBS participants compared their subsequent five years' Social Security earnings with those of control groups matched on the basis of age, race, sex, and previous earnings level and pattern. It found that younger (under age 20) OJT participants significantly improved their status, more so than older enrollees. Females in their early twenties also experienced noteworthy gains. The MDTA-Institutional program was found to have a positive impact only on males under 20 (Table 2). Youths in OJT gained as much as or more than those in institutional training. Since the former program costs about half as much, it is the preferable one.

A crucial issue is whether youths are being trained for stable and promising jobs. This is difficult to determine, since within each industry/occupation category there are "good" jobs as well as "dead end" jobs. The pattern of earnings gains, however, suggests that upgrading may be limited. One follow-up of year-old institutional trainees in 1969 found that only 8 percent of the annual earnings gains of 19-to-21-year-old participants came from higher wages, compared to a fourth for 22-to-34-year-olds.[3] Among younger on-the-job trainees, an eighth of the total gain was related to higher wages, compared with 27 percent for those 22 to 34 years old. Reduced unemployment and increased labor force participation, rather than higher wages, were the major sources of earnings gains for youths.

Table 2

Average Annual Earnings Gains of 1964 MDTA and 1968 JOBS Enrollees and Controls.

	Average Annual Earnings, Five Years Prior to Training and Five Years Subsequent		
	Under 20	20-24	All ages
JOBS-Contract			
Male enrollees			
Pre	$ 190	$ 835	$ 007
Post	2,327	2,912	2,919
Gain	2,137	2,077	1,912
Controls gain	1,616	2,153	1,760
Difference	521	-76	152
Female enrollees			
Pre	$ 100	$ 414	$ 530
Post	2,027	2,378	2,453
Gain	1,927	1,844	1,923
Controls gain	1,222	377	621
Difference	705	1,467	302
MDTA-Institutional			
Male enrollees			
Pre	$ 48	$ 585	$ 1,279
Post	2,928	3,783	3,584
Gain	2,880	3,198	2,305
Controls gain	2,599	3,397	2,497
Difference	281	-199	-192
Female enrollees			
Pre	$ 20	$ 228	$ 521
Post	1,600	1,771	1,947
Gain	1,580	1,543	1,426
Controls gain	1,660	1,645	1,361
Difference	-80	-102	65

SOURCE: Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, unpublished tabulations.

The quality of placement determines the long-run impact of training programs for youth. "Secondary labor market" placements benefit in the short run to the extent that youths are taken from the ranks of the unemployed and helped into jobs. They benefit relative to others in that they may begin their transition into adult work patterns sooner. But almost everyone's employment patterns stabilize by the early twenties. Unless participants are transferred into better "tracks," they will not advance any faster than nonparticipants. The return is only in being a step ahead at each juncture, like skipping a grade in school. Further, unless trainees are moved up to compete with more advantaged youths, much of the apparent gain of participants will result from the displacement of other disadvantaged individuals. Greater concentration on career opportunities might therefore be fruitful.

PLACEMENT AND OTHER PRE-EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

The disadvantaged frequently lack the guidance and role models that aid other youths in their transition into the world of work. They have less support from peers and relatives in avoiding possible traps such as having illegitmate children and engaging in crime. A major emphasis under manpower programs has been to provide labor market information and placement assistance, assessment of needs and counseling, and hand-holding to cope with the problems of the teen years.

Youths are a major client group of the federal/state Employment Service. In fiscal 1974, 1.4 million individuals under 22 years were placed, representing two out of every five Employment Service placements. Jobs were found for one in four youthful applicants, the same proportion as among adults.

There are some questions, however, about the net impact and effectiveness of Employment Services. In the summer of 1974, there were 205,000 jobs that were claimed to have been "developed" for youth by the Employment Service. These were largely the same slots pledged under the National Alliance of Businessmen program; the Employment Service was merely the nominal placement agent. Many of these jobs, in turn, represented traditional summer youth slots that were now being given special recognition. Jobs developed and filled by manpower programs frequently go with the Employment Service records. In other words, some of the Employment Service's claimed impact is the spurious result of bookeeping and procedural methods.

Even more basically, the Employment Service in many areas serves as a labor exchange for short-duration, menial, and low-paying jobs. In all likelihood, the jobs would be filled anyway without public intervention, and the net impact on the labor market or on the relative position of youths is questionable. The paucity of "good" job placements may explain why only 19 percent of unemployed teenagers turned to a public employment agency in 1974, compared with 30 percent of the older unemployed.

In the mid-1960s, the Employment Service opened Youth Opportunity Centers (YOCs) in a number of metropolitan areas to serve as a focal point for governmental and community action programs designed to assist youth, by combining intake, assessment, counseling, referral to training and other services, as well as placement and job development. YOCs had limited success. The number of applicants far exceeded the job and training opportunities. Employers in the primary labor market who might have been persuaded to hire some younger applicants were leery of an agency serving mostly disadvantaged youths. Under pressure to produce placements, the YOCs turned to the secondary labor market for openings. Assessment revealed that almost every applicant could use more education or vocational training, and there were no criteria for rationing scarce services. The limited openings in employment and training programs were therefore usually filled on a fist-come, first-served basis. The lesson is that placement, counseling, and assessment cannot stand alone. Such efforts are bound to be swamped by the reality of too few worthwhile slots and too many applicants.

The Concentrated Employment Program, designed to provide comprehensive individualized services in low-income areas, gave priority to youths. In fiscal 1974, 17 percent of enrollees were under 19, and another 32 percent were aged 19 to 21. Three-fourths of participants were minorities and half had less than a high school education. Despite these disadvantages, enrollees almost doubled their earnings between the six months prior to participation and the six months following. Two-thirds felt that they had obtained jobs as a direct result of services received. The proportion employed as laborers, domestics, and food service workers declined from 53 to 36 percent. According to the two major benefit/cost analyses of CEP, benefits outweighed the costs for the entire program; and given the large youth contigent, overall success implied some effectiveness in serving the young.

Yet in fiscal 1974, only 27 percent of terminees aged 18 and under were placed in jobs where they stayed for 90 days. This compared with 37 percent of participants aged 19 to 21, and 51 percent of those aged 22 to 44. For many youths, CEP was merely a holding action, with the recorded earnings gains reflecting greater age and maturity as much as employment and training services.

CEP's individualized service approach was not particularly effective in dealing with youth. The impressionistic evidence suggests that there was little screening or assessment, and that referrals were made on a hit-or-miss basis. According to screening forms sent in to the national office, almost every enrollee needed education, training, counseling, placement, and other services. There was no indication of any further refinement in the assessment process. In contrast to the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) program, which also delivered comprehensive, individualized services and which went to great lengths to screen out those lacking motivation or potential for employability, CEP believed it had a broader mission to serve all in need (including a much larger youth contingent). Hence, it never developed the long-standing contracts with employers enjoyed by OIC.

The Work Incentive program for welfare recipients also used the individualized service approach. Again, this did not prove very effective. Women under age 22 were slightly underrepresented in WIN relative to their share in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) population. They more frequently had babies needing care and were therefore disqualified. Among youth who participated, dropout rates were higher than those of adults. Only a third of under-20 WIN terminees in fiscal 1974 completed 90 days of employment compared with 43 percent of those aged 20 to 21, 48 percent of those 22 to 29, and 51 percent of those 30 to 39. Again, the individualized assessment and treatment approach tended to break down in practice. All clients shared handicaps; training and employment opportunities were limited; and the only rationing system was a crude distinction between employable, trainable, and unemployable clients.

A substantial minority, if not a majority, of disadvantaged youths become involved with the law at some point in their teen years. Those who are tracked into the correction system are likely to have a continuing record. The current thrust is toward community treatment rather than incarceration, and one dimension is to provide manpower services, on the assumption that failure in the labor market is a cause of crime and that success will be a deterrent.

The experiments with employment oriented services for youthful first offenders in the pretrial stage of the criminal process have yielded favorable but modest results. For instance, in serving a largely nonwhite group, three-fifths of whom were 18- and 19-year olds and two-thirds of whom had less than a high school education, Project Crossroads in Washington, D.C., was able to improve employment and reduce recidivism somewhat. One year after the project, 44 percent of participants had an average wage of $2.00 or more per hour compared with 20 percent at intake (though some of this gain was due to aging); likewise, half worked more than 80 percent of the year after participation compared to 30 percent the year before. Rearrest rates declined, though the improvements diminished over time. Only 29 percent recidivated during the three months of the project compared with 50 percent of controls; but 71 percent recidivated during the following eleven months compared with only half of the controls.

These diverse approaches emphasizing assessment, counseling, and referral to jobs or services have thus met with varying degrees of success. In the case of the Employment Service, many of the claimed placements were the result of referrals to jobs opened up elsewhere by the manpower system. Many of the other jobs were low-level positions that might have been filled without any government intervention. WIN had limited success in getting jobs for its clients, especially for younger ones. Pretrial intervention programs tended to use work as a therapy, and it seemed to have a positive (though short-term) effect, but few participants were moved into career opportunities. CEP apparently worked while it was able to secure better jobs through its leverage in the manpower system, but the impact of its pre-employment services for youthful clients is questionable. The common approach of assessing individual needs and prescribing services did not work well in practice, especially for youths. Assessment revealed the self-evident truth that among the disadvantaged everyone could use everything; there was little success in refining the methodology further to determine who within the universe of need would benefit most from what services. With the crush of bodies and the limited number of employment and training opportunities, any slot tended to be used for any client at hand. Further, the pressure to process individuals led to acceptance of jobs that could have been acquired by the clients on their own or that certainly did little to improve their long-run status. This was especially true for youths. There was no track record to determine employability. Employers shunned those with the double handicaps of youth and dependency or a criminal record. Many factors intervened to disrupt services and later success. In contrast to screening and upgrading systems such as the Job Corps, most of those succeeding in the programs got the same types of jobs they would have eventually secured on their own. Many who could benefit did not wait around that long. Hand-holding many be useful but is so chiefly when it is leading youths to something better. This was too rarely the case under the individualized, comprehensive treatment programs.

JOB CREATION

Providing work experience has been the major strategy for serving youths. The 812,000 first-time enrollment opportunities under the Neighborhood Youth Corps in fiscal 1974 accounted for seven-tenths of all manpower program enrollees under 22, and nine-tenths of all those under 19. Such work experience efforts expanded both absolutely and relatively in the first year of CETA.

Yet more has been promised. There are those who argue that financial needs are a major reason for dropping out of school, and that earnings during the school year and the summer will increase the likelihood of completion and thereby raise future earnings. Another possibility is that idle and improverished youth will turn to crime as a source of income and entertainment. Work experience might forestall criminal activity, thus reducing the chances of arrest and conviction and thereby avoiding the employability handicap of a criminal record. Finally, work experience, plus whatever training is received, may expose the disadvantaged youth to job discipline and the work environment. This might improve success in, or at least speed up, the transition into permanent jobs.

The scattered evidence suggests that NYC has not improved school performance. A careful study of fiscal 1967 enrollees in Detroit and Cincinnati found that controls and enrollees had exactly the same dropout rate. There was some evidence that part-time jobs impaired the achievement of less able youths.[4] A study by the General Accounting Office of the summer NYC program in Washington, D.C., found that after controlling was done for grades, attendance records, and levels of attainment, 12 percent of summer enrollees with high dropout potential left school compared with 13 percent of controls; all youths in the groups with low dropout potential returned to school.[5] Earlier GAO surveys of a number of other sites found that "the in-school and summer components of the NYC program had not had any significant effect on reducing dropouts among high school students. . . .The relative ineffectiveness. . .seemed to result because, given the complex nature of the dropout problems and the variety of social and personal factors causing dropout, the concept of the NYC program involved too simplistic and approach to bring about any dramatic results."[6]

The evidence is mixed but mildly encouraging concerning the impact of NYC on crime and deliquency. The Detroit and Cincinnati study found no evidence that deliquency was reduced. Another study in Cincinnati and Durham concluded the exact opposite, finding that the number of charges against enrollees declined noticeably relative to controls, as did the severity of the offenses.[7] A regression analysis of summer funding levels and youth arrests in Washington, D.C., concluded that "an extra three summer slots will lead to one less reported offense," supporting the notion (albeit with a very simplistic analysis) that summer youth programs help to keep the streets safe.[8]

The short-range returns of NYC are uncertain. One major study of the in-school and summer programs found that full-year participants increased earnings slightly, though summer-only participants benefited little. Yet the same study suggested but did not apply another econometric model that would have indicated no impacts.[9] And subsequent reanalysis of the same data with a complex simultaneous equation model concluded that the summer rather than the in-school programs had the higher payoff.[10] The variability of these findings, all based on the same set of data that included a fairly carefully selected control group, illustrates the uncertainties in estimating the impacts of youth programs. The only major economic impact study of the out-of-school program was very limited in scope, and the generality of its modestly favorable findings is subject to question.

It would seem then that NYC does not alter school attendance patterns, that it may reduce crime and deliquency somewhat, and that it has only modest impacts on short-run employment patterns. There are no grounds for supposing (though it is possible) that participation makes a noticeable difference over the long run.

This being the case, the priority given to work experience depends on whether the income to enrollees, the constructive activity, and any output are felt to cover the cost. It has been an almost universal finding that enrollees value their NYC experience and that it affects their attitudes positively. On the other hand, the value of work is questionable in many cases, since supervision is often poor. Whatever the evidence, the continued expansion of NYC reflects the public judgment that it is worth the cost to keep youths off the streets.

In marked contrast to the short-term, unskilled, and low-paying jobs created under the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Emergency Employment Act funded "transitional" entry jobs at the state, city, and county level. Youth (under 22) accounted for between a fifth and a sixth of nonsummer participants. They were employed in jobs that averaged $5,500 annual salary plus the substantial fringe benefits available in the public sector.[11] There was a wide distribution of occupations, with youths overrepresented in fire protection, environmental protection, and parks and recreation and underrepresented in social services, education, and health and hospitals. This situation was a reflection of age and the fact that almost all youthful enrollees were males. Evaluations have suggested that most EEA jobs created were "meaningful," that is, fully integrated and compatible with regular operations, usually positions that could not be funded because of budget stringencies. These jobs were a mixture of entry-level or training slots, paraprofessional opportunities, regular blue collar and secretarial jobs, and a few middle-management positions. The jobs for younger enrollees were probably more of the trainee, paraprofessional, and entry-blue-collar type, but they were far more substantial than NYC jobs.

Participants benefited substantially. The average annual earnings of males under 22 rose from $2,120 in the year prior to entry to $5,060 in the year after termination. This 140 percent increase exceeded the 90 percent gain of all males, while the $2,940 improvement of youths exceeded the adult's absolute gain. In contrast to the earnings gains of training programs, which came primarily as a result of increased labor force participation and reduced unemployment, youthful EEA enrollees experienced dramatically improved quality as well as quantity of employment. The average wage of under-22 cohorts in their last job prior to EEA was $2.62 an hour. In the first job subsequently it was $3.39. This 30 percent improvement exceeded that for all other males. Employment also rose and continued at high levels. Where only two-fifths of the under-22 participants were employed a year before entry, four-fifths had jobs a year later and seven of ten two years after.

These positive results must be tempered by the realization that EEA participants were not, on the average, as handicapped as those in other manpower programs were. In fiscal 1973, 39 percent of the under-22 enrollees were disadvantaged according to the official definition (compared with 31 percent of adult participants) and 47 percent were less than high school graduates (compared with less than 10 percent of adults). Yet since many of the youths were summer employees who were still students, the educational deficit is exaggerated. Further, the disadvantages of summer hires were not carefully checked.

Apparently, there was also some reluctance by the public sector to hire younger applicants. To begin with, the youth share of participants was half the youth share of unemployment. Subsequently, the proportion of youths moving on to jobs in the public sector was much lower than that of adults--58 versus 67 percent six months after termination and 23 versus 57 percent two years later. This sharp drop in the proportion of employed youths working in the public sector suggests that youthful hires were the first laid off in the hard times of the mid 1970s.

Public sector employment, however, provided the skills, credentials, or experience needed to secure employment in the private sector. It was a way to help youths over the transition into the primary labor market where they can make it on their own.

OVERALL IMPACTS

These employment and training programs touch the lives of significant minority of all youths and a large majority of those with the most severe labor market difficulties. There were 900,000 first-time enrollees under age 19 in fiscal 1974, and 187,000 more aged 19 through 21. The totals double-count some individuals, yet it is a safe estimate that between 750,000 and one million 16-to-19-year-olds were served.

The lower figure equaled more than two-thirds of the average unemployed and a third the number experiencing unemployment at some time during 1974. More impressively, the teenage manpower program enrollment totaled at least two-fifths the number of dropouts and of teenagers in poverty; it was nearly double the number of poor teenage dropouts.

The Job Corps and out-of-school NYC programs focused on dropouts from low-income families. Together these programs had roughly 117,000 new teenage enrollees in fiscal 1974, which equaled half of the dropouts from low-income families and exceeded the number of unemployed dropouts; and they presumably reached almost everyone with severe problems over the course of several years. It is understandable, then, that slots in the Job Corps and out-of-school NYC proved difficult to fill in the past. In 1967, when the teenage unemployment rate was 12.9 compared to 14.5 percent in 1973, the number of new enrollees in two programs was double that of fiscal 1974.

The short-run impacts on youth employment problems are substantial. If all program participants had instead been out on the street looking for work, and if no more jobs had become available, the unemployment rate for those under 22 would have been an estimated 15.5 rather than 12.5 percent in the nonsummer months of fiscal 1974. For 16-to-19-year-olds, the rate would have been 17.9 percent rather than 14.2 percent. For under-22 nonwhites it would have been 38.6 rather than 26.2 percent in the nonsummer months. Without summer NYC and other seasonal programs, the teenage unemployment rate would have been 24.3 rather than 16.7 in July 1974 if all participants had instead been unemployed. Most critically, the government employed 36 percent of all nonwhite 16-to-19-year-olds in July 1975, including nearly half of all 16-to-17-year-old nonwhite girls. If nonwhite teenagers had the same chances of securing government jobs as whites had, 212,000 more would have been without jobs in the summer, which would have raised the July 1975 unemployment rate from 34.4 to 50.3 percent if all had joined the ranks of the unemployed.

Despite these impacts, manpower programs have not done much to counter the secular rise in youth unemployment. In 1967, there were, on the average, more youths under age 22 in nonsummer programs than in 1974. In the summers of 1967, 1968, and 1969, the public sector provided an average of 11.3 percent of all jobs for 16-to-19-year-olds. In the 1973, 1974, and 1975 summers, it provided only 10.1 percent. The long-run impacts are also subject to question. Only a minority of youths who participate in manpower programs received any intensive level of assistance that could reasonably be expected to alter their futures. Disregarding in-school and summer NYC as essentially stopgap "aging vats" and reducing the totals for other programs by crude estimates of how many dropout or are not given anything more than counseling and placement, substantially changes the impressive participation totals. A best guess is that out of the one million participants under age 22 in fiscal 1973, only about one in six received any intensive, sustained aid that could make a difference over the long run.

The diversity of youth, the rapidity of change in the teen years, the inadequacy of descriptive and prescriptive methods, and the difficulties of lengthy follow-up, all undermine rigorous assessment of long-range impacts. On the positive side, the detailed studies of the various training and employment programs provide the grounds for guarded optimism. Overall, the employment gains of participants are usually positive and most often statistically significant. Under certain assumptions they seem to yield a "profitable" return on the investment in human resources. But youth programs such as the Job Corps and NYC seem to have lesser payoffs than do other efforts serving adults, while youth more frequently dropout of other programs than do older and more stable participants. The only comprehensive longitudinal study focusing on youth in all programs found that comparison groups tended to earn more than enrollees, though there was no evidence of a washing-out effect, and completers earned significantly more than noncompleters and nonenrollees.[12]

In summary, employment and training programs for youth have had the following impacts:

- Most teenagers handicapped by poverty, limited education, or race have been served at some point during their difficult transition years.

- By providing jobs and diverting youths from the labor force, manpower programs significantly lowered the measured rate of teenage unemployment throughout the year but especially during the summer.

- With their focus on minorities and the disadvantaged, employment and training programs have altered the distribution of teenage unemployment, or have at least kept the disparities from being greater.

- Neither year-round nor summer efforts expanded rapidly enough to offset the secular rise of youth unemployment; aid has diminished relative to need since the late 1960s.

- Only a small minority of participants (roughly one in six) were offered, or stayed long enough to benefit from, a level of services that could reasonably be expected to alter their lives.

- The success in reducing future labor market problems has been modest. The long-run gains of the minority of youths receiving more intensive services may be enough to justify most programs in a benefit/cost sense, but averaged over all youths the effects are very marginal.

INCREASING THE LONG-RUN IMPACTS

There is no doubt that expansion of current employment and training programs would help to alleviate youth employment problems. With teenage unemployment rates as high as they are, there is obvious justification for such efforts even if the long-run effects are minimal. Yet the evidence from the last decade suggests that more could be done to improve the future prospects of disadvantaged youth. To the extent that most of those in the universe of need already come in contact with the manpower system at some point in their transition from school to work, it would make sense to try to improve the impacts of participation. There is no set formula for improvement. However, theory and experience suggest certain strategies that are likely to have the greatest effectiveness.

The theoretical considerations are fairly straightforward. The teen years are a period of tentative contact with the world of work. Employment is usually on a part-time or summer basis, and almost everyone works in low-paying, unskilled jobs. With graduation or dropping out of school, and frequently with marriage, a transition is made into permanent jobs and steadier work patterns. There are major changes in occupations, industries, hours of work, and wages between the teens and early twenties.

It is at this juncture that the diversity of potential and opportunity begins to be manifested. Some youths move easily into the tracks leading to frutiful careers, while others remain derailed or get trapped on trains to nowhere. There are a number of factors affecting success probabilities. Race, sex, educational attainment, poverty, and location are unquestionably determinants, both directly and as proxies for other variables. Yet while these may explain average developments, they have little power in predicting the outcome for a specific individual. Among poor black dropouts in ghettos, some will go back to school or into the Army and will forge a productive career; others will turn to crime or drugs or will live out their lives moving from one menial job to another. There is a large element of chance as to who will get pregnant or hooked on drugs or caught for youthful crimes or, alternatively, who will hear about an apprenticeship opening or a well-paying blue collar job. There is wide variation in personal drive and motivation. As noted at the outset, it is difficult to predict who will achieve and who will not within any cohort, and it is problematic to determine the particular obstacle affecting any individual. There are reasons for believing that any of the possible manpower services such as counseling, placement, training, education, health care, or sheltered work, could be useful under some circumstances, but there is a fundamental inability to determine when and for whom.

One approach, given these uncertainties, is to provide a complete range of services to all youths within low success probability cohorts. But as the Job Corps experience has suggested, this is expensive and some of the offerings are unnecessary for most of the participants. Another approach is to simply offer a package of services to those who seem otherwise employable, that is, placement assistance for the job ready, training for those with adequate educational background, counseling for the emotionally disturbed. Because of the uncertainties, however, some of those receiving the marginal service will not need it, while some needing other assistance will not receive it. Both these approaches are based on the human resource investment notion, that is, that the disadvantaged individual lacks certain attributes required by employers, and that these shortcomings can be overcome by remedial aids. The key under both approaches is to better determine what the individual requires for employability and to target services more specifically to such needs.

After more than a decade of experimentation with employment and training programs for youth, however, the magic formulas for assessing needs and prescribing services remain elusive. Further work might yield greater specification, and this is certainly critical, but the problem is fundamentally one of the diversity of youth and the difficulty of looking into their future. Uncertainty will be a fact of life for some time, and it may well be that there is no Rosetta stone.

Instead of trying to bring the disadvantaged up to some abstract level of employability, it may make sense to provide only what is needed for a specific job that has been carefully selected and assessed. Manpower programs would serve as a mechanism for sorting among the disadvantaged to determine who could fill or quickly learn to fill such a job. Rather than simply duplicating the sorting that goes on all the time in the labor market, employment and training efforts would lead to better opportunities for those who proved themselves.

How would this be accomplished? First, it would be necessary to find jobs that would be within the potential of the disadvantaged even though they would have little likelihood of getting them. Traditional youth jobs would not be suitable. Neither would the secondary labor market positions disadvantaged youth would likely get as they matured, such as cooks or health service workers. The aim would be to find opportunities with a longer-run payoff in terms of better careers.

Second, aid would be restricted to the disadvantaged who could not ordinarily obtain jobs in the primary labor market. The whole idea of a special assistance program is undermined if participants include those who are already acceptable to employers and who would have been hired in the normal course of events. The idea is to select a group on the basis of normally exclusive handicaps and then to sort out the ones who can overcome them.

Third, services would be geared toward determining potential and giving only the "extras" needed to qualify for a better job. Counseling, education, and a variety of other components might still be offered, but the goal would be to demonstrate individual ability and to meet established requirements for a specific job. Occam's razor could be wielded liberally in eliminating services justified only by their general impact on employability.

Fourth, the emphasis would be on the most job-related aspects of all manpower services. Placement would consist of specific information about where and when to apply for openings for better positions, rather than generalized labor market information. Counseling would be used as a screening device, with the major emphasis on follow-up to assure success once jobs were secured. On-the-job training would receive priority over the institutional approach, except where employing agents were actively involved in the institutional program. Education would be limited to providing credentials such as GEDs if needed to gain entry into a specific job. Public employment slots of the EEA or New Careers type would be given priority over low-level work experience positions.

Fifth, intervention would focus on youths already involved in shifting into permanent job patterns. This is not always a matter of age, but as a rule of thumb, efforts to alter future success would give priority to 18-, 19-, or 20-year-olds who had finished their academic careers, who had families, or who had demonstrated a desire to settle down. The universal experience of youth employment and training programs has been that 16- and 17-year-olds (again on the average) are most likely to drop out, to return to school, to change career goals, to be arrested, or to become pregnant. By the same token, it is extremely difficult to find career opportunities for persons this age, so that, by necessity, employment and training programs have to lower their sights to secondary labor market jobs that cannot demonstrably alter the future. It is important to note that the number of 19-to-21-year-olds in employment and training programs has remained relatively constant since 1967 as emphasis has shifted to stopgap efforts for young teenagers.

This outlined approach differs fundamentally from that prevailing under current manpower programs. It differs by emphasizing screening more than general human resource development. The first priority is assessing good jobs where career training can occur rather than trying to overcome basic individual problems. The implicit assumption is that a smaller number of persons will be treated with any given level of resources, as opposed to the current approach, which tries to help everyone. The hope is that with a more selective focus less will be wasted on those who cannot benefit, while more meaningful aid can be directed to those with potential. Most of all, this approach recognizes that all in the universe of need cannot benefit. Failure is implicit in a sorting process; it would be accepted under the proposed approach rather than being hidden by the holding or placing of youth in dead-end jobs, as is too often the case currently.

It is much more politicially palatable to spread resources thin and to try to help everyone. This approach is reflected in the 30 percent decline in real expenditures per youthful enrollee between 1967 and 1974. A program structured on the idea of weeding out the less able is not particularly attractive to decision makers. Under the federalized approach of the 1960s, there was some insulation from the pressures to dilute services, but under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, this is no longer the case. At the local level, the cards are stacked against the sorting approach. Prime sponsors are pressured to do something visible for as many as possible. The long-run implications of decisions and the performance of programs are rarely considered, since there are really no output measures. In a decentralized and decategorized system, there is a systematic bias in favor of work experience and other caretaker programs.

It would, therefore, be logical for the federal government to provide some level of additional support for sorting-type programs, whether as national emphasis efforts or as grants-in-aid for special local projects. Some alternatives are listed below:

- Apprenticeship and preapprenticeship programs might be sponsored at the national level once the depression in construction eases.

- The Job Corps could be expanded following its presently successful model of union participation. It should continue to serve the "hardest core" youths, with incentives to employers to assure that jobs are available at the end of the road.

- Youth quotas might be established under Title II of CETA to assure that the young get more than mere work experience slots.

- A separate youth employment program might be established focusing on entry-level ($5,000 and up) jobs for 19- and 20-year-olds.

- Vocational education funds under CETA might be designated for the operation of institutional skill centers for youths.

- A national on-the-job training program for younger workers patterned after JOBS might be launched as the economy picks up.

- There might be experimentation and development with different employment and training models designed along the suggested lines. Extra funds could then be provided to local areas to implement these approaches.

There is no guarantee that such measures will significantly improve the longer-run impact of employment and training efforts for youths. In fact, it will be difficult ever to prove the effectiveness of any future-oriented commitment. On the other hand, the recommended approach seems consistent with what we know about youth employment problems and with the manpower program experience of the last decade. Employment and training programs as currently structured alleviate the short-term difficulties of youth, and they probably pay off as a human resource investment. Yet more can be done (especially as the economy improves) to increase their long-range impacts and to help disadvantaged youths improve their futures.

NOTES

1. This and subsequent data and analysis are drawn largely from Sar Levitan and Benjamin Johnston, *The Job Corps: A Social Experiment That Works*, which is in publication by the Johns Hopkins University Press.

2. Joe N. Nay, John W. Scanlon, and Joseph Wholey, *Benefits and Costs of Manpower Training Programs* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1973).

3. Garth L. Mangum and John Walsh, *A Decade of Manpower Development and Training* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1973), pp. 43-44.

4. Gerald Robin, *An Assessment of the In-Public School Neighborhood Youth Corps Projects in Cincinnati and Detroit* (Philadelphia: National Analysts, Inc., 1969).

5. Robert Taggart, *The Manpower System in the District of Columbia: At A Critical Juncture* (Washington, D.C.: National League of Cities-U.S. Conference of Mayors, March 1973), p. 60.

6. General Accounting Office, *Federal Manpower Training Programs--GAO Conclusions and Observations* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 22.

7. Regis H. Walther, et. al., *A Study of the Effectiveness of Selected Out-of-School Neighborhood Youth Corps Projects: Summary Report and Implications for Program Effectiveness* (Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, December 1968).

8. George F. Brown, et. al., "Analysis of the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program," mimeographed (Arlington, Va.: Center for Naval Analysis, December 1972), p. 20.

9. Jon Goldstein, *The Effectiveness of Manpower Training Programs: A Review of Research on the Impact on the Poor*, Joint Economic Committee (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 4-6.

10. The data in this section are drawn primarily from "Longitudinal Evaluation of the Public Employment Program and Validation of the PEP Data Bank," mimeographed (Washington, D.C.: Westat, Inc., 1975).

11. Gerald Somers and Jennifer L. Warlick, "An Evaluation of Manpower Programs for Young Men, 1964-1972, Based Upon the National Logitudinal Surveys," mimeographed (Madison, Wisconsin: The Industrial Relations Research Institute, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975), p. 53.

CHAPTER 7

COMMUNITY EFFORTS TO LINK EDUCATION AND WORK

Dennis Gallagher

BACKGROUND:

A WIDENING GAP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WORK

All societies in all times are confronted with the problem of improving the "ways" and "means" of bringing youth into adulthood--and particularly working (productive) adulthood. In our society, as opposed to one dominated by tradition, past approaches to bringing young people into adult participation in work are less likely to be appropriate or relevant to present and near-future requirements of individuals. This is the case because in a dynamic society, the character, quantity of, and distribution among (types of) jobs change rapidly, as do the results that individuals and the society expect from jobs. The fact that jobs and what is expected from them do not change in exact synchronization yields a set of problems that complicate the context within which young people must make job and career choices.

To cite an example: young blacks and young women today are encouraged to consider and aspire to careers from which they were almost totally excluded less than a generation ago. Although these two simultaneous social revolutions are having a significant impact on work institutions, the impetus for such change has come from society and not from our employment institutions. Today, the curricula of our schools are being gone over with a fine-toothed comb to erase stereotypical statements about the kinds of work in which blacks, other minorities, and women might engage. Thus, there is constant stress between what the society encourages people to aspire to, as far as work is concerned, and the extent to which the work world is willing to or able to respond to these changing aspirations and demands.

Another dimension of the problem is the fact that people are staying in school longer, becoming trained for and psychologically adjusted to the prospect of participation in jobs that will require high skill levels, while the emergent reality is that work places do not require and cannot absorb "educated" people into the kinds of jobs, that customarily have been associated with higher levels of educational attainment, in the numbers that one would expect to be required. Can people who are presumably educated to be more skilled and competent be simultaneously trained to expect less from their work?

To what extent is education preparation for participation in work (however narrowly or broadly we define "work"), and to what extent is it postponement? James Coleman states in his preface to *Youth: Transition to Adulthood*: "As the labor of children has become unnecessary to society, the school has been extended for them."[1] Although the causal relationship between the extension of years of schooling and the shrinking proportion of our population whose primary activity is working is very likely more intricate than Dr. Coleman describes, there is a relationship. Recently, in France, "temporary" legislation was passed to provide French youth with financial incentives to remain in school rather than to seek employment, which would add to the unemployment roles in a period of recession. One reason the GI Bill was passed following World War II was to keep returning veterans from all descending on the labor market at one time.

Over the long term in the United States, extension of the years of schooling has been encouraged by legal strictures (compulsory school attendance laws, child labor laws); by attitudinal changes toward the pursuit of further education; by upward changes in the educational requirements for many jobs; by the intervention of three wars and the consequent effects that conscription had both on encouraging youth to stay in school (because of draft deferrals) and discouraging employers from hiring youth for permanent jobs because of the likelihood that they would be drafted.

In sum, employers have become used to doing without youth labor or, at least, used to dealing with youth whose commitment to the economy was temporary or secondary to other commitments (that is, education and military service). At the same time, educators, with increasing encouragment from the society, have become more and more accustomed to expecting youth to give a long-term (without a break), first-priority attention to education.

By the 1960s, public attitudes toward young people's participation in education versus work had shifted to such a degree that when federal programs were introduced that encouraged young people to work (such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) and the Federal Work Study Programs for high school and college students), the essential rationale for the programs was that the work would either provide youth with the financial resources to stay in school or with the motivation not to drop out of school. The work training aspects of these programs were, by and large, ignored. The questions political and scientific evaluators asked about these programs were what percentage of the participants completed high school or went on to college rather than questions such as what effect did these work experiences have on future job choice or on future income or on easing the transition to full-time employment.

As education has been extended for a longer and longer period, it has taken on the characteristics of a separate life phase for youth, who are protected from the outside world by the institution of the school. This institution, in turn, has been managed by a rapidly growing number of highly trained professionals, whose energies, not surprisingly, have gone into managing the incredible growth of the education system, in terms of both numbers of students and areas of social responsibility for which "education" is being held accountable. "Educational" responsibilities have expanded into realms that had been the domain of other institutions, such as the family or work (apprenticeship) systems. Responsibility for helping youth to make the transition to working adulthood has been brought under the schoolhouse roof, not the employer's roof. Vocational education has actually brought the paraphernalia of the work place into the classroom. Educational credentials have become a substitute for on-the-job experience as the accepted means of qualifying for career employment opportunities. Education rather than experience has become the principal means of shaping and conditioning occupational opportunity and choice.

At the same time, the gap between education and work has been further widened by dramatic changes in the character of American communities and the economy. Jobs and careers have become harder to identify in large urban metropolises than they were in small towns; jobs have become more difficult to distinguish in an economy dominated by large corporate and governmental bureaucracies than in an economy typified by small businesses and self-employment. Due to the rapid pace of technological change and higher rates of mobility (geographic, social, and economic), people's jobs are further removed from their early environments than once was the case, with the consequent weakening of traditional guidance performed by family, caste, class, and neighborhood. The schools have tried to fill this "guidance breach" by absorption and expansion of counseling and guidance, with results that thus far have not been particularly satisfactory.

A GROWING CONCERN ABOUT THE GAP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WORK

The interwoven set of developments that have led to a widening gap between education and work, which in historical terms took place very quickly, nevertheless occurred over several generations. John Dewey, an educational philosopher, and Thorstein Veblen, an economist, are among the earliest critics of this path of educational and economic development, which they saw as leading toward educated incapacity and a new mandarinism, which they felt would endanger the capacity of individuals and society to understand, to cope with, or to control the course of scientific and technological invention.

More recently, Paul Goodman wrote of the absurdity of growing up in a world where more and more human relationships and responsibilities were becoming professionalized, where young people were protected for longer periods in schools where, he argued, the most vital learning does not occur and where, he argued further, passivity is encouraged and social stereotypes are reinforced.

Studies by James Coleman[3] and Christopher Jencks[4] have produced discouraging findings regarding the impact of greater equality of educational opportunity on economic equality. These findings shook the faith of many who had looked toward education as the principal force in the achievement of a variety of social objectives. The Coleman and Jencks studies remind us of the continuing influence on individuals of families and early social environments as socializing forces that exceed or neutralize those of the schools. Such findings encouraged many people (educators included) to reintegrate educational development with the roles and responsibilities of these other socializing forces in the bringing of youth into adulthood.

Coleman, in his preface to *Youth: Transition to Adulthood*, wonders rhetorically whether the length of schooling has increased to a point where "a thoughtful person must ask whether society can conceive of no other way for youth to come into adulthood."[5] Coleman broadened his concept of education to include what goes on outside the school walls as well as within them. He argues that the effectiveness of the educational process can be enhanced by the incorporation of community resources and experiences and, indeed, that in some instances the educational program should be moved out of the schools altogether and into work places.

Sidney Marland's concept of career education reminds educators that their responsibility to all students includes preparation for careers as well as for further education and that effective fulfillment of this responsibility requires education to forge new links with business and industry in particular and with the community in general.

Williard Wirtz, in *The Boundless Resource: A Prospectus for an Education-Work Policy*, wonders whether people of any age (youth, adults, the elderly) are served well by a pattern of living that isolates the activities of education, work, and leisure into separate life phases ("time traps").[6] These time traps result from and are reinforced by the institutionalized separation of education and work. The resolution of problems that youth encounter at the point of transition from education to work will require the removal of many of the barriers (legal, attitudinal, informational) that now exist and that act to keep these two institutional systems from working in closer collaboration. Wirtz argues that this removal is not likely to be accomplished at the national level, where the lines of dialogue between these systems are fairly rigidly and publicly drawn; rather, it is at the community level that the greatest interest and opportunity may exist to work through the programmatic and process dynamics of approaches to easing the problems associated with youth's transition into working adulthood.

In sum, the reaction against a trend of educational and economic developments that have isolated youth in schools for extended periods of time and excluded them from work places has a substantial history and appears to be coming to a head. The circle of concerned people has steadily widened to a point where there is now considerable support for drawing on, developing, and broadening the "experimental" base established in some schools and communities aimed at resolving the complex range of problems that have come to be classified under the generic headings of "the passage from youth to adulthood" and "the transition from school to work."

SOME DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS

This paper attempts to describe, and to some extent to assess, what is now a rapidly growing number of community efforts aimed at resolving "transition from school to work" problems. Before we turn to that main task, two general warning flags are raised:

First, "transition from school to work" is a generic concept that covers a broad range of concerns and issues. Part of the reason for the lengthy introduction to this main topic is to provide an inkling of the variety of perspectives, interests, and concerns that now seem to be converging around the transition from school to work topic. These different perspectives lead to varying definitions of just what the problem is, which in turn lead to varying methods of solution.

For some analysts, lowering the rate of youth unemployment clearly constitutes the major goal of such efforts; for others (probably an increasing number), the goals are less precise. The latter would argue that it isn't just a question of having more jobs for more young people or of shortening the time it takes to find a job after leaving high school or college. To them, the developmental potential of the job a young person gets might be an equal or more important element than the availability of a job, regardless of its nature. This concern, in turn, may be related closely to quality-of-work issues (the extent to which work provides people with fulfilling and participatory activities); on the other hand, it may be more closely related to issues that involve improving the processes of career decision-making, job selection, and the matching of individual interests and potential with the demands and substance of available jobs. For still others, the primary concern is that of bringing about some substantive change in the patterns of participation in education and work, for youth and adults as well.

This definitional obliqueness presents problems in terms of identifying those initiatives that ought to be included or excluded from description and analysis. The attempt is made here to be as inclusive as possible. Certain dimensions of the concern about the school-to-work transition are more strongly represented than others, perhaps a reflection more of where these initiatives have been than of where they are going.

Second, the term "community" is even more elusive. What represents a "community initiative?" How wide a range of interests must be represented before what is being done can be claimed as a genuine community effort? There will be no answers to those questions in this paper. The approach taken is to include as relevant all efforts that act to break down the insularity of education, work, and other institutions in communities (and the human and other resources contained therein).

THE BASE: SOME PROGRAMMATIC APPROACHES TOWARD RESOLVING SCHOOL-TO-WORK TRANSITION PROBLEMS

The trend during most of this century has been to keep youth out of work and in school longer rather than to get them into work. During the last decade, however, while educational participation rates have continued to rise (with some leveling off in the last three years), the labor force participation of youth also has climbed.

What this means, of course, is that there is an increasing number of young people both working and going to school. In 1970, at any particular time, 38 percent of 16-to-19-year-olds were both in school and in the labor force, and over the course of the year, about half of all 16-to-19-year-olds in school got paid work experience of one kind or another.

It may be that events are reaching a stage where it may be easier for a teenager to get a job while still in school than it is if he is not. Although the following statistics do not tell us much because they report on different segments of the population, it may be of more than symbolic value that the unemployment rate for out-of-school youth now exceeds that of in-school youth. The unemployment rate for out-of-school 16-to-19-year-olds in 1970 was 17.2 percent, while for in-school youth the rate was 15.7 percent.

Two important "facts" put these statistics into better perspective. First, by and large, the jobs that youth do get are concentrated in a separate band of jobs from those that adults get; and the linkages between youth-type and adult-type jobs are very weak. Second, while the data substantiate that young people are mixing education and work more often than in the past, this increased labor force participation of in-school youth has been accomplished, for the most part, with little institutional support (from education, the Employment Service, etc.) and with little consideration of how these youth work experiences might most helpfully be related to education, training, career decision-making, socialization, or other school-to-work transition objectives. The principal reason for this is that until very recently, there has been little incentive from the society and, consequently, little inclination by educators or others to pay attention to the developmental potential of these work experiences.

The statements above represent the general situation. Paralleling these developments, but starting from a smaller base, has been the growth of initiatives that have as a conscious purpose the improvement of relationships between education and work. These "minority" developments represent a base in innovative practice that can be, and is now being, turned to for instruction as society's attitudes toward the integration of education and work change.

Vocational education has represented the main effort of education to specifically prepare young people for the world of work. Through such education, a substantial work training capacity has been brought into the education system. Today, about one-third of upper secondary school students are enrolled in these programs. The chief present challenge to vocational educators may be that of deciding how best to use these substantial resources within a context of developing education and work relationships where efforts are being made (1) to recognize and meet the needs of all young people for help with career preparation and decision making, and (2) to identify, develop, and draw on the resources of all community institutions (not just the schools) in fulfilling these responsibilities.

- In Cleveland, for example, the city's 20 high schools have all been developed with strong vocational-technical components. The comprehensive high schools of Cleveland enroll over 70 percent of the city's vocational students. These schools take their responsibilities for job training seriously and have both the facilities and the staff to provide more rigorous vocational training than is the case in the industrial arts programs of most comprehensive high schools. The vocational high schools thus are enabled to concentrate on more highly specialized vocational programs, since the vocational development of students enrolled in the comprehensive high schools is not being ignored. In comparison to most large cities, the Cleveland business community is unusually mobilized and organized to support vocational education through a General Advisory Committee to the Director of Technical-Vocational Education, composed of top-level business representatives, as well as through more than 30 special advisory committees, which review and recommend courses of study, equipment and supplies, new training programs, and vocational specifications.

- In New York City, the Bureau of Occupational Education has devised a citywide plan that endeavors to assess and develop the unique capacities of each secondary school in the city and then to encourage flexible patterns of student participation in these various schools, so that the students can draw on the potential of particular schools (and those particular programs) most suited to their interests.

- In Dallas, the Skyline Center is used as a career center for students throughtout the Dallas Independent School District. Students come to the Center for a half day each day to participate in one of the "career clusters." This cooperation between the Center and the comprehensive schools in the District is representative of the kind of flexibility that vocational education programs need to develop if the career preparation needs of a wider proportion of secondary school students are to be met. An additional, even more important, feature of Skyline's development was the substantive involvement of the Dallas business community in both the identification of the career clusters in which instruction was to be provided and in the actual development of the curriculum for each of these areas.

The first thought through, formal attempt to mix education and work at the secondary school level was the adoption in Dayton, Ohio, in 1913 of the ***cooperative education*** program, which had been developed a few years earlier (at the University of Cincinnati) for use at the higher education level. Cooperative education was conceived of as a vocational training program for persons who received instruction through a jointly planned and supervised arrangement between schools and employers, alternating classroom study with on-the-job experience. This program went through a period of gradual expansion covering several decades. With the passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1963, which for the first time permitted use of federal money to finance outside work experience, these programs began to expand more substantially; they grew even more dramatically following passage of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, when separate funds were earmarked for support of cooperative vocational education.

Cooperative education at both the secondary and postsecondary levels has come to serve as an important model for other initiatives that endeavor to move elements of the education process out of the school and into the community. Cooperative educators have paid close attention to managerial and organizational matters, creating the staff position of cooperative education coordinator (defining the duties of this position and training people to carry them out), encouraging counterpart staff positions in employer establishments, and paying attention to how out-of-school experience can be integrated into the curriculum. In broader perspective, cooperative education has served to demonstrate the kind of commitment that education must make if cooperative relationships with community resources are to be sustained.

The main problem facing cooperative education, as well as other work experience programs, is whether and how placement levels can be improved (both quantitatively and qualitatively), or even maintained, when the unemployment rate is exceeding 7 percent. Cooperative education, like vocational education, faces the problem of how its character (job training in a still fairly narrow range of occupations) can be broadened to cover the wider range of education-work concerns reflected in the present career education movement.

- A survey and assessment by Systems Development Corporation of "School-Supervised Work Education Programs," has produced a variety of useful documents. One document provides brief descriptions of 50 exemplary education-work programs; another provides careful details for replication of the best features of work-study programs. In summary, the study compares the features of three types of work-education programs: (a) cooperative education, (b) work-study for prevention of premature school leaving, and (c) career exploration. It finds that on the structural side, the cooperative education programs, more characteristically than the others, work with an advisory committee, provide students with job-related instruction in school, include both guidance and job placement services, have a follow-up program for graduates. The survey also indicates that the typical cooperative education program (more than the others) provides students with jobs that involve formal on-the-job training, that fit into the students' own career plans, that involve significant responsibility, and that afford a higher degree of satisfaction. But this apparently favorable assessment may be as much a comment on the limited objectives of dropout prevention programs and the underdevelopment of career exploration programs as on the relative sophistication of cooperative education programs.

- Cooperative education has reached a stage of development where examples abound of secondary school systems with established programs. Special mention is made of the experience of the Dayton, Ohio, Patterson High School, for it was there that cooperative education programs at the secondary level were introduced. The programs were developed through the encouragement of a prominent local businessman (John Patterson) who felt it imperative that educators and employers cooperate to provide youth with skills required to enter the work place. An evaluation was recently completed by Ernst Stromsdorfer, comparing the 1966 and 1970 Patterson High School cooperative education graduates with graduates, of those years, of Dayton comprehensive high schools. (A longitudinal evaluation of cooperative education programs of Boston schools has recently been completed by Sol Hurwitz.)

- Cooperative education programs have grown substantially at the postsecondary level as well. There has been some cross-fertilization of these developments, but perhaps not as much as one might expect. Northeastern University in Boston has emerged as oen of the leading cooperative education institutions in the nation and as part of that leadership function, has created a resource center to monitor and provide technical assistance services to cooperative education developments at all educational levels. This center, under contract to the Massachusetts

State Department of Education, is currently carrying out a survey of all "experiential learning" opportunities in Massachusetts secondary schools.

Work-Study and *Neighborhood Youth Corps In-School programs* are participated in by approximately 170,000 young people. Both of these programs have developed as income maintenance, dropout prevention programs rather than as career development or career awareness programs and have, in general, been implemented as such. Many of the work placements are on-campus rather than in the community. There is increasing concern as to how the resources available for these programs can be used to provide young people with experiential opportunities that go beyond the objectives of income maintenance and dropout prevention.

- The San Bernardino County Schools are making an effort to get greater mileage out of NYC In-School money by relating the program to a county career development plan. They are using a variety of means to provide relevant educational experiences, skill training, and work experience for youth, aimed at preparation for at least entry-level employment. Each school in the county, using a combination of NYC (60 percent) and school funds, has established a full-time placement counselor position to find summer and part-time work experience assignments for students. A grant from the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is being used to operate the Vocational Exploration in the Private Sector Program. This money permits schools to strengthen their career guidance component and to involve the local business-industry community in education and training. Wages and training responsibilities are shared on a 50-50 basis. A parallel program, the Career Education, Work-Experience Program, has been developed, which uses public and private nonprofit agencies as the resources.

- In 1973, Systems Research, Inc., under a Department of Labor contract, identified successful NYC In-School programs and wrote a how-to-do-it guide for use by local NYC directors. Although the names of the actual sites identified as having exemplary programs were not revealed in the report, descriptions are provided of 11 different NYC In-School efforts that focus on vocational skills, enrollee involvement, academic skills, career exploration, and workmanship training.

- One of the major problems that NYC In-School and Work-Study programs encounter is the lack of adequate administrative support for placing students off-campus. Work-Study programs at the postsecondary level are plagued by comparable difficulties. One of the reasons for this is that the legislation probably too severely limits the amount of Work-Study funds that can be spent on administration. Another problem that may result from very tight educational budgets is the incentive to keep Work-Study labor on-campus. In New York, Chicago, and Richmond, the Urban Corps offices have assumed responsibility for making off-campus Work-Study placements for groups of colleges in their respective areas.

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Alternative education initiatives both in and out of the public schools now have a considerable history of development. Although particular alternative education initiatives have tended to rise and fall with considerable rapidity, in general their total number is increasing, along with their influence on conventional education. Alternative education does not necessarily focus specifically on school-to-work issues but does extend the education process into the community, making use of community resources for a variety of educational purposes. Important lessons have been learned from these alternative education "experiments" in terms of the development of education-community relationships and the staffing, curriculum, and scheduling changes that must occur if these resources are to be drawn on.

- The alternative education movement may now be moving into a phase where its developments can be consolidated. The Center for New Schools (CNS) in Chicago is playing an important leadership role in providing encouragement and technical assistance to school systems interested in establishing alternative schools. The National Institute of Education has provided CNS with a grant to act as a resource center to a network of school districts establishing alternative education programs.

- Metro High School in Chicago is an alternative "school without walls" operating within the Chicago Public School System. It was begun in 1969 at the instigation of the Urban Research Corporation. A total of 350 students, who are selected from applications in a citywide lottery, attend the school. Classes are ungraded. Teachers come from a variety of backgrounds and do not necessarily have teaching credentials. Emphasis is placed on involving students in decision-making regarding school policy and in the development of curriculum and external learning opportunities. Metro is managed from a storefront campus, but much of the time students are dispersed throughout the city in business, cultural, and community groups for learning experiences.

- The City as Educator is a proposal developed for the Boston Redevelopment Authority by Education Planning Associates. It is being considered by the Boston School System. It proposes that the city of Boston and the Boston public schools begin immediately to create a large, new educational program using cultural, educational, civic, and business resources of the city as both the curriculum and the physical locations of a new educational process. Under this program, elementary and middle school children would receive half of their education in special resource centers developed in or near cultural or educational institutions such as the New England Aquarium, the Franklin Park Zoo, the Boston Center for the Arts, The Children's Museum, and other such institutions. High school students, operating under an expanded Flexible Campus program, would both work and study not only in these resource institutions but also in businesses and industries and in governmental and civic organizations. It is estimated that up to 20,000 Boston youth might be involved in these learning situations outside the school walls.

- In New York City in 1972, storefront street academies, located in various places throughout the city, opened for students who had failed or dropped out of regular schools. The street academies were planned by the school system with the involvement of 15 high school students. Enrollment was voluntary and began with the participation of some 100 students; enrollments now exceed 300. The academies draw on the learning and work resources of the city. Alternate weeks of study and on-the-job training are provided.

Career education is a recent and serious initiative on the part of many school systems to prepare all students for the world of work. It introduces exposure to the world of work into the education curriculum systematically, on a graduated basis, beginning with elementary school; and it emphasizes the practical applications of learning as well as the educational applications of practice.

Career education is a concept that has been difficult to tie down, largely because it is responsive to the criticisms of many aspects of educational practice and endeavors to incorporate, under a single concept, a broad range of reform ideas that, for the most part, center around the establishment of new relationships between education and the community in general and education and work in particular.

Through the diligence of Dr. Sidney Marland, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, and Dr. Kenneth Hoyt, present Associate Commissioner of Education for Career Education, the concept of career education has caught on. In some instances, this growth of career education adaptations has been illusory, because only the nomenclature and not the programs have changed (although the longer term impact of changes of name should not be underestimated). There can be no denying, however, that many states and communities have invested considerable time in adapting the career education concept to their particular circumstances and in initiating programs.

The variety of initiatives that now bear the career education label is somewhat confusing. The four career education models (school-based, employer/experience-based, home-based, and residential) have provided opportunities to design programs that test different approaches toward implementing the career education idea. The school-based and experience-based models have been exposed to the most experimentation thus far. In the testing, these two models have tended to move toward one another: the school-based programs developing off-campus experiential components, and the experience-based models moving aspects of their programs back into the school setting rather than having the program entirely employer based.

- A comprehensive career education plan calls for the integration of career concepts throughout the educational curricula, beginning in kindergarten and lasting through grade 12 and beyond. Obviously, this process of integration will begin at different levels of the education process in different communities. Like most educational reforms, it is at the elementary level that progress has been achieved most rapidly, with the secondary level being the most intransigent. Comprehensive school-based career education plans have seen the most complete implementation at all levels in Mesa, Arizona; Los Angeles; Pontiac, Michigan; and Hackensack, New Jersey.

- In Mesa, a Community Resource Service has been developed, attached to the school's Center for Career Development, to aid in developing and coordinating relationships with community people and institutions. This service helps arrange for field trips, guest speakers, tele-lectures, video-taped interviews, and work exposure and work experience opportunities. An expanded work-education program is now being tried out on an experimental basis, with some 500 junior and senior students participating.

- In Los Angeles, a careful education planning and development exercise has been carried out. The initial model focused on a subdivision of the school district consisting of Belmont High School, three junior high, and six elementary schools. The teachers and staff of these schools cooperated in the planning and design of a new career instructional program. The Center for Vocational and Technical Education at Ohio State University provided detailed guidelines for curriculum development. Community support for and involvement in these career education developments were facilitated by the Los Angeles Alliance for Career Education, a consortium of some 85 corporations and companies.

- Experienced-Based Career Education (EBCE) programs have just completed a successful round of experimentation and assessment funded by the Education and Work Program of the National Institute of Education at four sites: Charleston, West Virginia; Philadelphia; Oakland, California; and Portland, Oregon. Although these programs were provided with considerable latitude in which to grow their own ways, certain guidelines were set: the instructional system had to be individualized and experimental, use as its focus employer/community settings, blend academic and occupational learning, and accommodate a cross section of the local high school population. Approximately 600 students were involved in these EBCE experimental programs in 1974-75. The Office of Education is presently preparing to support a much wider dissemination of the EBCE approach.

The examples that have been mentioned thus far are representative of some broad programmatic approaches to the school-to-work transition. In general, educators have been the main initiators of efforts to better link education and work. Since the urban disturbances of the 1960s, however, industry and business have taken a more active role in relating their resources to community needs and problems.

Indications of this increased corporate commitment were initially reflected in such manpower programs as Plans for Progress and the creation of the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB). The NAB program has provided an effective and continuing forum at both the national and local levels through which corporations' efforts to direct their attention to employment problems of the disadvantaged can be shaped and coordinated. For the most part, these initiatives have been remedial in character; addressing themselves to the needs of people who have failed in or been failed by the schools and who have been unable to find or hold employment. NAB's youth programs are preventive in nature and designed to encourage disadvantaged youth to stay in school and prepare for productive jobs.

- NAB's Youth Summer Jobs program provides summer employment for approximately 200,000 youth. The Guided Opportunities for Life Decisions (GOLD) program is operating out of approximately 80 NAB metropolitan offices, providing part-time jobs for disadvantaged high school students and presenting orientation information about the various professional career options available with specific employers. Seventy-one Career Guidance Institutes have been set up in 65 metropolitan areas to help improve the quality of career counseling offered to students by teachers and guidance counselors. In cooperation with school systems, local businesses provide teachers and counselors with access to the work place, where they can learn firsthand about career opportunities and the preparation expected of high school graduates. The Youth Motivation Task Force, currently operating in some 70 metropolitan areas, puts disadvantaged youth into direct contact with successful people in business and industry who come from similar backgrounds.

The development and expansion of programs where NAB's metropolitan offices work with the schools and with in-school youth has occurred only very recently. That these kinds of involvements did not happen earlier is not surprising, in view of the fact that societal attitudes encouraged rather than discouraged the isolation of education from work institutions. As these attitudes have changed, the will to cooperate on the part of educators and employers has begun to shift as well. Business-education cooperation is a matter that has come to occupy much higher priority attention of employers and employer associations, such as the National Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

- The National Chamber of Commerce has strongly supported the concept of career education. It has held a national conference that brought educators and employers together to build support for the career education concept among employers and to discuss ways in which the resources of business can be integrated into an ongoing career education program. The Chamber has also written a position paper, which has received wide distribution, endorsing career education.

- Business associations in many communities have become more receptive to working with the schools and students than in the past. In Dallas, the local Chamber of Commerce was instrumental in the development and design of the Skyline Career Education Center. The local Chamber contracted with the Dallas Independent School District to organize and provide the Center with the advisory services of the business community. In Los Angeles, the Alliance for Career Education has provided important political and technical support for the career education program of the Los Angeles schools. In St. Louis, the Regional Industrial Development Council (RIDC) supports the career education program by attempting to provide school guidance counselors with up-to-date local occupational information, by organizing and operating career and job fairs, and by establishing a "career hot line," a telephone exchange manned by business volunteers who are available to answer teenagers' inquiries about the world of work. The Economic Development Council (EDC) of New York City has done a careful job of developing its relationships with the New York schools. An EDC Task Force helped to develop a school reorganization plan, making available over 22 person-years of "on-loan" executive time from 15 EDC member companies. A School-Industry Partnership Program with four inner-city high schools, a "career exploration" curriculum, and a Career Opportunities Resource Center have been developed; and EDC gave encouragement in the development of a New York City Industry-Education Alliance.

In addition to initiatives that have grown out of national or local consortiums of employers, in a number of instances some firms have adopted high schools, making available to them a range of employer resources, both human and physical.

- Chrysler Corporation has worked closely with Northwestern High School in Detroit. Chrysler staff members, on loan to the school, provided advice to faculty and students on such matters as placement, curriculum development, testing, and skills training.

- Similar relationships have developed between the Bell Telephone Company and the Fifth Avenue High School in Pittsburgh; North American Rockwell Corporation and Downey High in Downey, California; Chase Manhattan Bank and several Bronx high schools; and the Bell System and Olin Corporation and several schools in New Haven.

Efforts to formally establish joint cooperative education and industry organizations are not particularly new. The vocational education legislation mandated the formation of state and local advisory councils on which the employment community had to be heavily represented. The National Council for Industry-Education Cooperation has been around for some time as well, along with affiliated councils at the local level. These efforts, by and large, have tended to focus their energies on a fairly small piece of the education-work agenda. Industry-

Education Councils, in most instances, have been established at the initiation of the business community and have concentrated much of their efforts on attempting to argue for and improve the teaching of economic education in the schools.

Although these cooperative initiatives may have had some narrow beginnings, we are now seeing the beginning of some attempts to use these arrangements for broader purposes.

- In California, some serious efforts have been made, and apparently are continuing to be made, toward establishing Industry-Education Councils at state, regional, and local levels. These councils would be concerned with providing a variety of services to schools and to students, aimed at easing the transition from school to work: tutorial programs; work exposure and work experience opportunities; teacher and counselor training; management assistance to school administrators.

- In Springfield, Massachusetts, the Hampden County Industry-Education-Labor Council has been established, to better interrelate community resources through conferences, research, and committee work. The results have been work-study programs, career workshops for guidance counselors, a community resources handbook, youth motivation task forces to provide volunteer business personnel as "living witnesses," a clearinghouse for material on the subject of education for jobs, and the development of a framework for assisting occupational competence programs.

- The Hampden County Council was established with the advice and consultation of the Central New Jersey Industry-Education Council. Other Industry-Education Councils that are mentioned frequently as being particularly effective are in Peoria, Illinois; Worcester, Massachusetts; Buffalo; and Arizona. Some ties have started to develop among these various council efforts. There is increasing expertise in terms of how to initiate, organize, and develop a program agenda for such councils. As part of former Commissioner Marland's career education initiative, the commissioner created a staff position of federal industry-education-labor coordinator. This federal office has its counterparts at the regional and state levels. The National Manpower Institute is interested in establishing a resource network of such community collaborative efforts to link education and work.

In addition to the initiatives of educators and employers, the service sector has also made, and has much further potential for making, important contributions to the resolution of transition-from-school-to-work problems. Like some of the alternative education developments, particular service programs tend to come and go with some rapidity but overall they have expanded substantially.

There are essentially four types of service programs that have relevance here. First, there are volunteer programs such as the Peace Corps and VISTA, to which young people who join must agree to commit themselves fulltime; that is, as a condition for participation, the person must "stop-out" of an education or work situation for a specified period of time. A major challenge confronting these stop-out programs is the need to develop linkages between these service experiences and the education or work experiences that follow them.

- The Independent Foundation has recently been given a grant by the Lilly Foundation to serve as the clearinghouse for returning Peace Corps and VISTA volunteers, attempting to match their interests, experience, and skills to the needs of particular community programs.

A second kind of service involvement, which is much more prevalent for teenagers, is the placement of secondary school students in experiential opportunities with various service and nonprofit agencies. In many of these instances, efforts are made--similar to those undertaken in cooperative education--to integrate the experience into the curriculum. Credit is often granted for such experiences.

- In 1974, ACTION's Youth Challenge Program (YCP) began providing approximately 3,700 young people 14 to 21 years old with the opportunity to serve 18 low-income communities on a regular part-time basis. One of the goals of the program is to relate volunteer assignments to individual classroom, vocational, or other learning interests, while providing local service agencies and nonprofit institutions with needed manpower.

- The University Year for ACTION (UYA) program provides a full year of academic credit and subsistence allowance to full-time students working on poverty-related problems. The program operates through grants to postsecondary educational institutions that work with the community to identify and eliminate poverty problems. Although UYA is conducted on the postsecondary level, it has affected developments at the secondary level as well. In New York City, for example, college students working in the Mobilization for Adolescent Student Health (MASH) program, sponsored by the New York City Urban Corps, UYA, the City University of New York, and the Health Services Administration, recruited and trained a corps of high school students to be responsibile for an ongoing in-school Health Information and Referral Center.

Third, programs of various community service groups, such as the 4-H, the YMCA (the School-to-Work Project), the Boy Scouts, and Junior Achievement, are being developed to provide youth with greater insight into the world of work.

Finally, some public service programs have been developed that pay particular attention to the needs of youth. During the Great Depression years, the Civilian Conservation Corps and programs of the National Youth Administration provided work opportunities for youth. Several recent initiatives, although not necessarily modeled after these Depression programs, have resemblances in that public money is used to provide public service work opportunities for young people.

- In 1973, ACTION sponsored the Program for Local Service (PLS) on an experimental basis in King County, Washington. Three hundred twenty young people between 18 and 25 worked full time on nearly 200 projects designed to solve high-priority social problems chosen by local organizations (not federal or state administrators). The young people were encouraged to seek out and negotiate their assignments directly with potential sponsoring agencies. Based on the success of this demonstration program, PLS currently has over 1,000 volunteers of all ages participating in 19 projects throughout the country.

- The Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), begun in 1971, (1) provides employment for youth (14 to 21 years of age) from all backgrounds during the summer months; (2) furthers the development and maintenance of the natural resources of the United States; and (3) improves the participants' understanding of the natural environment through their work in national parks and other wilderness settings and through concurrent educational programs. In 1973, some 3,200 youth participated in the YCC program at 94 project sites. (The number has gone up considerably since that time.)

SOME SUPPORTIVE TRENDS

The development described in the previous section demonstrate the increase interest of educators, employers, and service groups in devising approaches to dealing with the transition problems of youth.

This section covers a number of what might be termed organizational or administrative initiatives that affect the capacity of institutions in the fields of education and work or in other fields to be further responsive to these problems. In many instances, these initiatives have emerged from other interests and concerns of education and work institutions but, nonetheless, have relevance to the transition from school to work.

Experimentation with the *year-round school*, for instance, has relevance to aspects of the school-to-work transition question even though the concept initially took shape as part of an effort to use educational facilities more efficiently at a time when enrollments were rising at rates exceeding our communities' capacities to build schools.

As a "side effect," the year-round school permits the education system to draw on and space out its relationships with employer and other community organizations over the entire year rather than just over the nine-month academic year. Additionally, these arrangements permit spacing out of the times of graduation from secondary school, thus somewhat ameliorating the problem that is created annually when all graduates descend upon the labor market at the same time.

Considerable experimental development has now occurred with *modular curriculum units* that permit more *flexible scheduling* of the school day and the semester. This greater flexibility allows students to "free-up" a portion of their time to undertake independent study or to participate in volunteer service or work experience.

State financial assistance to schools is determined on a formula basis, by the average daily attendance of pupils. In many states, the regulations required that students actually be present on-campus before they could be counted as "in attendance." These regulations have now begun to be revised. In Maryland, for instance, students can spend up to 50 percent of the day off-campus in an education-related activity and still get full attendance credit. *Revisions in average daily attendance regulations* clearly enable greater flexibility and use of off-campus experiential opportunities.

Revised educational criteria, reflecting education's increased attention to socialization and developmental objectives, represent a potential impetus to increased use of work experience as an educational device.

The Cooperative Assessment of Experiential Learning (CAEL) project, sponsored by the Educational Testing Service and a consortium of cooperating universities, presently is examining issues pertaining to the granting of academic credit for work experience. This subject, similarly, is occupying high-priority attention of regional accrediting associations. Meanwhile, at both the secondary and higher education levels, *credit for relevant work experience* is being granted more commonly.

The development of *external degree options* at both the secondary and higher education levels also provides opportunities, directly or indirectly, for students to use experience as a means of attaining educational credit.

The development of *"external" tests*, such as the General Education Development (GED) diploma, provide important means for individuals to have levels of competency certified without certification necessarily being dependent upon the period of attendance at the educational institution. In California, exams are not being given in the high schools that will undoubtedly have a substantial long-term impact on the way in which employers and others value the high school diploma (which, by and large, has come to certify attendance and not competence). The availability of such tests may (1) affect the patterns of people's participation in education, and (2) encourage the education system to use community resources to improve the competency levels of their students.

Educational voucher experiments, although they remain inadequately evaluated, can encourage wider use of a variety of educational and other institutions, facilities, and arrangements for individual development.

As a result of the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, a number of institutions of higher education are adapting their administrative practices in order to permit and, indeed, encourage students to *stop-out* from college or *defer admissions* into the university following high school. These practices are recommended in the belief that young people will be able to make more relevant educational choices if they are exposed, for a period of time, to experiences outside the educational structure. The creditable academic performance of veterans returning from military service and returning Peace Corps volunteers is evidence supportive of stop-out or deferred admissions practices.

The degree to which child labor laws act to exclude participation of teenagers in the work place remains somewhat problematical. Their total impact is felt as a result of the combined forces of the laws themselves, the way they have been implemented, and the attitudes of society regarding their appropriateness. As attitudes change toward youth's gaining work or service experience, the implementation of these laws will be affected. At the same time, receptivity to modifications of excessively restrictive aspects of the laws will be heightened. The Work Experience and Career Exploration Program (WECEP), sponsored by the Employment Standards Administration of the Department of Labor, through an amendment in Child Labor Regulations, permits youth under 16 years of age to work a maximum of 28 hours a week during school and 40 hours a week during school recess. Following a period of careful testing and evaluation, this amendment to the regulations now has been made permanent.

If the various dimensions of the school-to-work transition problem are to be attended to, it is fairly clear that more flexible patterns of participation in both education and work will be needed. Both schools and employers have been slow to adapt practices that encourage such flexibility. If the human resources of our work institutions are to become effective in helping to resolve the transition problems of youth, "release-time" will be needed for young workers to pay attention to school responsibilities without jeopardizing their jobs or chances for promotion. At the same time, "work stations" must be created that permit greater participation of youth, some of whom may still be going to school. Cooperative education has already demonstrated that both educators and employers can provide the kind of flexibility needed where the will to do so exists. Employers have also provided flexibility to adjust to problems arising under various federal manpower training programs. The four-day work week, "flex-i-time," and worker sabbaticals that might serve to "free-up" workers' time for further education or community service are growing practices, but from a still small base.

A DEVELOPING AGENDA FOR COMMUNITY COOPERATION TO LINK EDUCATION AND WORK

As is probably evident from the preceding discussion, cooperative efforts between education, work, and other institutions have tended to focus on a certain range of program and support activities. Some cooperative initiatives include a wider array of these particular activities than others; but in combination, what may be emerging is an agenda for improved community cooperation to link education and work. Based on an examination of present cooperative developments, this agenda seems to include as primary candidates for further cooperation (1) the improvement of career counseling and advice; (2) the improvement of job placement services available to youth; (3) the development and dissemination of local job, career, and manpower information; (4) the expansion of work exposure and work experience opportunities; and (5) the revision and development of career and vocationally related curricula.

In this section, examples are provided of efforts that are concentrated on particular aspects of this agenda. In many cases, the efforts described do not focus solely on a single agenda item but, nevertheless, have been selected to illustrate what types of cooperative efforts now exist to improve the quality and relevance of career counseling and advice or to develop local occupational information, and so forth.

Career Counseling and Advice

There is increasing recognition that young people need counseling and advisory support to aid them with career decisions. The provision of these support services recently have come under fairly consistent criticism.

The number of guidance counselors in the secondary schools now exceeds 40,000, but for the most part, this resource has been developed for the purpose of helping those who are going on to college. There is skepticism concerning the extent to which school-based guidance counselors, whose training and experience are commonly limited to associations with education, are prepared to advise and counsel students on career choices. Involvement of community resources, both in the training and the retraining of school-based counselors and in the actual provision of career advice, seems essential if the serious weaknesses of present career guidance arrangements are to be overcome. There are a rapidly expanding number of instances in which community resources are being developed and used on both of these fronts.

- In Lynn, Massachusetts, a cooperative program between the General Electric Company, Boston University, and the Lynn schools is in progress. Guidance professors from Boston University coordinate a program for school counselors in the Lynn schools. Classroom instruction is combined with independent study projects and an in-plant experience during which counselors are assigned to "shadow" workers in the GE plant. GE is the largest employer in Lynn; a high proportion of Lynn students end up working for the company. Therefore, practical knowledge of the GE setup is helpful to all parties concerned: GE, the counselors, and students.

- The University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, offers a summer session graduate course for teachers and counselors entitled "Orientation to Student Career Opportunities." This course is endorsed by the Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce, the Milwaukee Employers' Association, the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association, the University of Wisconsin, and the Milwaukee Public Schools. Participants spend at least half of each day during the session touring businesses and industries. They are given the booklet *Tips for Workshop Members On Tour*, and employers are given the booklet *What to Do When Teachers Visit Your Plant*. Emphasis is placed on educational requirements for various occupations, demand, entry position, and potential earnings. A recent class produced the booklet *Community Resources--Vocational Handbook*.

- Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company runs a summer counselor work experience program. The program is designed to assist inner-city high school counselors to prepare the noncollege-bound student for the world of work. The counselors do approximately 12 assignments in the various departments of a work observation basis.

- At the Dallas Skyline Career Education Center, the student-counselor ratio now stands at four students for every counselor. This remarkably low ratio has been attained by a full-scale mobilization of the Dallas business community toward helping the Center and by a policy of the school system that encourages and permits people in industry to counsel students within the career cluster that is related to their particular area of expertise.

- In Cleveland, many of the barriers to business participation in the schools have been lowered. The combination of high priority being placed on job- and career-oriented education and a flexible attitude toward participation in the schools by outsiders in areas of their expertise has encouraged the development of programs that provide outside supplementary support to the in-school counseling function.

- In Santa Clara, California, the local unit of the Northern California Industry-Education Association has organized career guidance centers to serve local district high school students. Numerous employers set up vocational counseling exhibits and provide opportunities for students to meet with employers to determine employment opportunities, courses helpful to qualify for certain occupations, and other such helpful information.

Placement

The main placement priority of the schools has been on the placement of graduates on the next rung of the education ladder, largely because the success of schools is measured in terms of the number of students who go on to on the next level of education. This system of accountability is reflected in the failure to provide the same level and quality of services to those dropping out of school or not continuing their education beyond high school.

A number of state departments of education are encouraging their students and school districts are beginning to develop and provide improved placement services for them.

- The School-to-Work Transition Project of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education has recently completed a handbook on how to develop school-based job placement centers. This project has benefited from close contacts with those state departments of education and local school systems willing to assume greater responsibility for the job placement of students. The project, in return, has provided encouragement and assistance to these efforts. The states of Florida (where job placement offices in local school systems are now mandated by law), Georgia, and Ohio have taken a leadership role in encouraging the establishment of job placement centers.

- In Hackensack, New Jersey, a component of that city's comprehensive career education program is the establishment of a job placement service located at the local high school. Through this office a full-time job placement officer provides students as well as adults with counseling, referral, or direct placement in full- or part-time employment.

- In River Falls, Wisconsin, a community job placement service has been set up that includes full-time jobs for young people leaving school before or upon graduation, part-time jobs for students, summer jobs, and on-the-job training stations for cooperative, work credit, and work-study programs.

- In Akron/Summit County, Ohio, an excellent school-based job placement service has been established with a close working relationship with the local Employment Service. It helps find jobs for students who have dropped out of or graduated from school, as well as work experience opportunities for students still in school.

Job, Career, and Manpower Information

A vital part of the development of career-oriented education programs is the provision of information on jobs, careers, and manpower trends. Such information is essential for counseling, guidance, and placement purposes, as well as for curriculum development and for determining the desirable level of enrollment in particular career curricula areas. Problems exist both with respect to the availability of adequate manpower information and the use of such information.

Following are a few examples of activities that require the cooperation of business, education, and manpower agencies, aimed at the development and use of data on careers, jobs, and manpower trends.

- The Manpower Management Information Dissemination Project in Ventura County, California, is a joint project of the Ventura schools and the Ventura Community College. Through this joint effort, a continuing survey is made of local employers to determine present manpower needs and to project these needs through 1980. This information is disseminated through workshops and training sessions to occupational education decision makers.

- In Dallas, at the Skyline Center, the curriculum has been divided into 27 career clusters. Short-term forecasts are made of the job prospects in the Dallas area for graduates of the various career clusters. Where the education program provided in a particular cluster is not suited to employment demand, adjustments are made in the curriculum by a joint business and education committee. The Skyline Center, through its advisory board (which consists of employers in the Dallas community), participates with the Northern Central Texas Council of Governments Manpower Planning Council, which is concerned with the development of manpower forecasts for the Northern Central Texas area.

- Ohio Bell, in cooperation with the Ohio Department of Education and the Batelle Memorial Institute, is engaged in a program that is concerned with analyzing job content and requirements and a method of transmitting that information to the education system in terms that are understandable and useful to it for program planning purposes.

- The Department of Labor recently has given grants to eight states to establish Occupation Information System (OIS) programs. These programs, just getting under way, are encouraging (1) the development of *local* occupational information; (2) the translation of this information into forms that can be comprehended by its users; and (3) cooperation among those agencies that collect, evaluate, and disseminate the information.

Work Exposure and Work Experience Programs

One of the most important and most developed areas of cooperation between schools and the community is in the provision of work exposure and work experience opportunities for students. Throughout much of this paper, efforts have been mentioned that are relevant here: the four Experience-Based Career Education programs; the in-school career education programs in Mesa, Arizona, and Los Angeles; the cooperative education program in Dayton, Ohio; alternative education in Metro High in Chicago; the Neighborhood Youth Corps In-School program in San Bernardino, California, and others. Several further examples come to mind that should not be overlooked.

- The Executive High School Internship program was initiated in 1971-72 under the joint sponsorship of the New York City Board of Education and the city's Human Resources Administration. During the Internship program, high school students spend a full semester with senior officials in government, educational and cultural institutions, private agencies, foundations, and private corporations. The intern is not paid but is granted a full semester's academic credit. To receive credit, the executive intern keeps an analytical journal of daily activities, maintains a high level of performance in the program, and presents a project to the high school at the close of the semester. Thus far, college placement officers have viewed the internship experience as a positive factor in evaluating a student's potential. Begun in 19 New York City high schools with 100 interns participating, the program expanded to 700 interns in 55 schools in its second year. The New York City Board of Education has assumed full sponsorship of the program in New York City.

Under the sponsorship of the Academy for Educational Development, the program has now expanded to the following cities: Washington, D.C.; Tampa, Florida; San Antonio and Houston; Sacramento, Compton, and San Diego, California; New Orleans; Phoenix, Arizona; Albany; Hartford; and Norfolk, Virginia.

- The Work-Study Program at Nicolet High School in Milwaukee, provides students with a sequence of learning experiences designed to give them a better perspective of career opportunities in business and industry. The program includes the following phases: (1) A study unit assists the students in understanding their own capabilities and interest and includes a series of interest and aptitude tests. The students build their understanding by studying many types of jobs, training requirements, job functions, and other factors relating to employment. (2) A visitation unit combines actual visits to many businesses and industries in metropolitan Milwaukee, with careful analysis of specific jobs and how they fit into the organizational structure. Opportunities are also provided for students to interview persons in these organizations to gain an appreciation of the management and labor points of view. (3) An experience unit includes employment on a half-time basis and a weekly seminar at the school.

Curriculum Development and Revision

Currently, the bulk of work-related information and experience provided in the schools is limited to the vocational education track. Business' primary relationships with the schools have been established through cooperation with vocational-technical education. As a result, their participation with the schools has tended to become isolated from the mainstream of the education system. In only a few instances has business participated in the design or revision of the general curriculum. The career education program, with its proposal to infuse information about the world of work and opportunities for direct learning into the entire curriculum, will provide the chance for business and industry to (1) relate their expertise and resources to the entire education program, and (2) help in the development of education curricula at all levels--kindergarten through twelfth grade--and in all subject areas. There are currently some excellent programs that could be used as models for further participation by business and industry in the development and revision of education curricula:

- One way in which business and industry provide advisory services to vocational education is through national, state, and local Advisory Councils on Vocational Education. Indeed, according to Sam Burt, who has followed these developments more closely than anyone else, some 20,000 separate vocational education advisory committees, served on by 100,000 business representatives, now exist throughout the United States.[7]

In the vast majority of instances, however, industry participation is relatively passive, in the sense that it is clearly the educators who determine what skill or occupational areas will be taught; it is also up to the educators to decide how and when to draw on these advisory resources and how much attention to pay to the guidance provided.

- Performance contracting, which has had a somewhat checkered and short history, has at least provided a means for businesses to become directly involved in the design of curricula. In Dallas, RCA contracted with the local school authorities to develop the curricula for approximately half of the 21 career clusters implemented in the first year's operation of the Skyline Center.

- In the Downey, California, World of Work Program, the Downey Unified School District is replacing traditional practical arts departments with a new program that embodies primary industrial functions. Included are the elements of design, marketing, manufacturing, and servicing. Currently, the school district has a vocational mechanics instructional program operating according to the World of Work concept. Plans are under way to convert several other industrial arts programs as well. New courses are being developed that serve as models of cooperative effort between the school and the local North American Rockwell Corporation in manufacturing processes, plastics fabrication, and structure assembly.

- In Jackson, Mississippi, a reading program that now includes 120 students has been developed by AT&T and incorporated into the local school program. The objectives are to significantly improve reading levels of students, and to develop a corps of people in the schools who will be able to extend the system into other subject matter areas.

- The NASA office in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has developed materials for the Massachusetts schools on space education, using them as a vehicle for providing understanding about such basic concepts as gravity and aerodynamics.

- The number of curricula developed that emphasize community learning experiences and career oriented learning are rapidly multiplying. The "World of Construction" and "World of Manufacturing" curricula prepared by Ohio State University, the "Technology for Children" project being used in the pilot Career Development Program in Camden, New Brunswick, and Rahway, New Jersey, are good examples.

- Sea Resources, Inc., a nonprofit corporation formed by citizens concerned about declining commercial fishing at Ilwaco, Washington, was instrumental in organizing a program that involves two local school districts and Washington State's Coordinating Council for Occupational Education. Eleventh and twelfth graders receive training in commercial and sport fishing, seamanship, navigation, marine hull design, and engine repair and maintenance.

CONCLUSION: PUTTING THE PIECES TOGETHER

In summary:

- The gap between education and work has widened, due to a variety of events and attitudes that have encouraged young people to stay in school longer, thus protecting them from the exploitation and dangers of the work place and at the same time, preparing them for a life and for careers "better" than those of their parents.

- The strain of thought critical of developments that isolate education and work from one another has a fairly long history. In recent years, these views have come to be shared by a rapidly widening circle of people whose concerns have focused on the difficulties that youth encounter in making a transition to adulthood in general and to working (productive) adulthood in particular.

- As these concerns have grown, there has been an emergent consensus that resolution of transition problems is more likely to be successfully addressed at the local community level than at the national or state levels. It is in communities that this relationships between the various institutions and constituencies (educators, employers, labor unions, parent groups, service organizations, government, and, of course, young people) ultimately will have to be altered, leading toward greater cooperation among them and toward greater flexibility of participation in education and work.

- The education system has responded to these transition concerns by designing and implementing a number of educational programs that endeavor to break down the "walls" of the school, moving more aspects of the education process back into the community. Coming at it from a different perspective and more slowly, employers too have taken a number of steps to relate their resources to the needs of the communities in which they are located and, in many cases, to the needs of youth in those communities. Finally, volunteer and service initiatives have grown that provide opportunities for young people to develop their talents and relate them to the needs of communities.

- Beyond the programmatic initiatives taken by education, work,and service institutions, a number of supportive administrative and organizational practices are being developed that may permit education and work institutions (and the individuals within them) to more cooperatively and flexibly draw on each other's resources.

- The considerable cooperative experience that has now been developed in a number of communities can provide insights for development elsewhere by pointing the way to what kinds of activities and functions attempting to provide links between education and work most lend themselves to cooperative effort.

Concern about the transition of youth into working adulthood grows out of a broad range of issues. Accordingly, those developments and examples reviewed in this paper should be assessed with this broad perspective in mind. It may be that our society and its communities are in the midst of a process of redefining what roles and responsibilities various societal institutions have for bringing youth into adulthood.

At a minimum, it seems now to have recognized that the schools, operating in isolation from other institutions and resources in the community, cannot adequately cope with youth's problems of transition. Even this recognition leaves us a very long way from knowing how to best engage resources other than those of the schools. Employers, unions, service groups, and others clearly can perform useful roles, but just what these roles are and why and how these groups can be encouraged to commit themselves to helping young people remains unclear. The answers, in this regard, are more likely to come from practice than from theory. Where community groups have involved themselves in such efforts, their commitment has tended to be reinforced rather than weakened.

It should be understood, however, that efforts (within the schools, between the schools and communities, and outside the schools) that address transition-from-school-to-work problems still reach only a small minority of young people and, in most instances, address only a few dimensions of the problems. Nevertheless, perhaps a beginning base has been established that, if properly taken advantage of, can enable broader developments in the future.

If a reasonable opportunity is going to be provided for fulfilling this larger potential for community initiatives in linking education and work, a range of problems must be addressed and actions taken. The following actions are suggested as starters.

- The availability of information on community initiatives currently is sparse. It appears that many of these efforts start, expand, and then fade out of existence, with little opportunity for others to learn about and from this experience.

  A national clearinghouse should be established with responsibility to identify such community initiatives, to gather information on them, and to disseminate the information in forms and ways most likely to be helpful.

- The information available on community efforts to improve the linkage between education and work is generally of poor quality. That is, it is most often either simply descriptive of what these initiatives are trying to accomplish (with little information on what has been actually accomplished and at the expenditure of what resources), or the information more resembles public relations communications than communications likely to be helpful to those inside or outside of the community who are concerned about program development and implementation. Several factors contribute to this situation. Many of these efforts do not have a long enough history to permit definitive assessment. Not uncommonly, they exist as voluntary efforts, with little or no staff support and with few incentives to define objectives and goals. These initiatives often have emerged in response to particular problems that are not necessarily reflective of any broader or longer range potential. An additional complicating feature is that in many instances such initiatives may be more appropriately described as being facilitative rather than programmatic in character. To assess their effectiveness solely by evaluating the particular programs they administer may result in overlooking vital aspects of their work that have to do with improving the *processes* of community cooperation whereby currently available resources can be used more efficiently.

If the difficulties associated with doing this job right are recognized, there need to be serious efforts made at assessing the total impact of such initiatives in communities. What are now available in this area are evaluations of specific programs that impact on school-to-work transition issues such as cooperative education, college work study, and Neighborhood Youth Corps. It is probable that new assessment approaches and concepts will need to be devised if the job of assessing the total efforts of a community to assist youth in making the transition from school to work is to be done properly. As a first step, it would be a very worthwhile exercise to bring together a select group from the community development, education, manpower, and evaluation fields to think through possible approaches to assessing these types of collaborative programs and processes.

- Additional work is required beyond identifying, reporting on, and assessing the extent and quality of present community experience in trying to improve the linkages between education and work. Does what now exists by way of experience with community cooperation in linking education and work represent the full potential for these efforts? The answer to this question, of course, can be no without at all dismissing the relevance of identifying, documenting, reporting on, and assessing present experience.

While the accumulated experience is drawn upon, encouragement should now be provided to a variety of communities to develop and experiment with more broadly conceived community approaches to marshaling and coordinating resources that, in potential, can have a salutary impact on youths' transition-from-school-to-work problems. The specific suggestion here would be for the federal government or private foundations to provide a limited number of communities with the resources of financial and technical assistance needed to devise and implement community plans for aiding youth to make more effective transitions from education to work.

NOTES

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2. Paul Goodman, *Growing Up Absurd* (New York: Random House, 1960).

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CHAPTER 8

INFORMATIONAL AND COUNSELOR NEEDS IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS

Seymour L. Wolfbein

This paper is presented in three parts.

- The first reviews the informational needs in the transition process of youth from school to work, and makes recommendations for improving the information itself, how it is analyzed, and how it is disseminated.

- The second discusses the manpower needs involved in guiding and counseling young people, reviews the issues in counseling competency and utilization, and makes recommendations on how manpower can be improved, quantitatively and qualitatively, within and outside of the school.

- The third makes the point that improving the information manpower connection has to be accompanied by corresponding improvements in the institutional setting within which guidance and counseling take place and suggests actions that can bring about such improvements.

INFORMATION

Almost 40 years ago a federal committee appointed by Franklin D. Roosevelt emphasized the need for an organized program aimed at an objective assessment of occupational and industrial trends for the use of youth guidance and counseling, suggested the establishment of an Occupational Outlook Service to perform this function, and recommended that this be done using the research, data collection, and analytical facilities of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS)[1]--a recommendation not received without some malaise on the part of related agencies, including the Labor Department itself.

A great deal has happened since then, of course, to the labor market, to the youth, to the guidance profession, to concepts and techniques of research and analysis, and to the organization of the federal establishment in this arena. Just about every one of those developments, however, has continued to emphasize the wisdom of the core judgment of that committee: the need for a systematic, ongoing, responsive development of a solid research-based information stream for this purpose.

During these years there has been a corresponding increase in the development of these materials that has yielded a substantial amount and variety of extremely useful information, to some of which we shall refer.

This is a field, however, where the word "change," overworked as it has been, is very appropriate. Everything from developments affecting the youth themselves and their relationships to the job market, to the cornucopia (or avalanche) of manpower and associated legislation has increased the demands for the information. The pace of these developments has been rapid enough to generate major gaps in (1) the data available, (2) their analysis, (3) their dissemination.

Where we are now and where some recommended courses of action might take us is the substance of what follows in this part of the paper.

Current data in the job market are a critical component of any informational system, and major advances have been made on this front, not only for the youth themselves, but for the labor force generally. Major systems of collection, through household enumeration and establishment reporting and from the administration and operation of our social insurance system, yield a significant variety of relevant data. These data include equally significant demographic variables related to employment and unemployment, such as age, sex, color, industrial detail and occupational groupings, and associated information on hours of work and earnings.

All of these have at least three major uses. First, they are important to the placement function for youth in the story they have to tell about the current status of the job market. Second, they serve as the basis for trend information that also is relevant to an on going evaluation of that market. Third, they form a vantage point for projections into the future. These are all major components of outlook information for career guidance.

Any analyst or practitioner in this field can supply a large list of additional informational items that it would be important to have as part of our data resources to put to use in the guidance of youth. There are, however, several that are overriding; they represent significant gaps that hinder effective work with the materials and that at the present time make us less effective in trying to respond to federal legislation, policy, and programs related to youth.

- One of the major forward steps that could be taken is the provision of additional occupational detail to the materials already being collected. In a paper that this writer prepared for the predecessor Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) National Manpower Advisory Committee, we spelled out in detail the historical and current reasons for the lack of such information and the gaps that would be filled if it were indeed provided.[2] These reasons need not be repeated here. The fact of the matter is that statistical reporting systems have emphasized industrial rather than occupational catagories and even within occupations have tended to emphasize only certain groups of workers, usually those in some of the blue collar fields. There were good historical reasons for this, but for at least a quarter of a century federal programs and policies and the labor market itself (to which those federal actions were and are trying to be responsive) have needed more intelligence on occupational trends and it has not been forthcoming. The signs of this are all around us, including the lack of something as elementary as a standard occupational classification system. We have an excellent standard industrial classification system used inside and outside government, yet occupational classification differs among government agencies and even within the same government agency.

A significant step forward began in 1970 in the Department of Labor through the development of a current statistical collection system of occupational data. Known as the Occupational Employment Statistics (OES) program, its ultimate aim is to provide current information on occupational manpower at the national, state, and local levels as a cooperative federal-state effort under the technical aegis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It has the potential for supplying information on more than 2,000 occupations, and its collection within the context of the ongoing establishment reporting system of the Bureau of Labor Statistics enhances its usefulness in everything from placement activities to outlook projections for career guidance.[3]

The OES program now covers a little more than half the states and needs the resources and manpower to cover the rest--and they ought to be made available.

● Characteristic of just about all data in this field is the lack of sufficient geographic detail. Since all major facets of the guidance and counseling process take place in some geographic context, this is an overridingly important deficiency. Some job markets--for example, for major groups of professional personnel--are indeed national, but for most of the labor force they are not; and even when they are national, such activities as placement have to be geographically grounded. Assessments of career outlook should be made nationally; in fact they are subject to factors that are not merely the sum of the different geographic parts, but even here the changing geography of our population, of industry, and of business are matters of critical importance and we need the information to trace those changes.

The current state of affairs in this aspect of our informational needs is a complicated and confusing one. There are very useful data by state and area available through the Bureau of Labor Statistics system for nonagricultural wage and salary workers,and there are excellent local surveys of such matters as wages and earnings, as well as examples of very good local labor market assessments by various Employment Service offices, but from there on it is downhill practically all the way, particularly under the stress of the requirements of such federal legislation as the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA).

There already exist good accounts of all of this[4] and it need not be detailed here. Suffice it to say that the matter is exacerbated by conditions of relatively high unemployment; that a plethora of agencies and geographic entities--states, counties and combinations of counties, standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAs), inner cities, and even neighborhoods--are involved; that while the concepts and techniques for obtaining such information are available, using them to get the data would entail costs well above the range of ongoing survey budgets.

The need for the geographical dimension to occupational and related information is so obvious that it does not need additional explication, except perhaps to point out that it is particularly and crucially important for labor market information systems that serve young people who exit from the educational arena relatively early in their school careers, certainly those who are not college bound, with disproportionate representation from disadvantaged and minority groups in the population.

Our recommendation on this front is as follows: It is essential to have a program that provides the geography of our employment and unemployment situation, on a relatively current and periodic basis, with sufficient occupational/industrial content--and not only for the guidance and counseling of youth. It ought to be mounted with due regard for the use of available statistical techniques that could minimize cost and with due regard for the benefit side of the cost-benefit equation, if only on the basis of its utility for improving operations under much federal legislation, making more viable ongoing systems of labor market information funded by the federal government, as well as the contributions it has potentially for improving the transition of youth from school to work.

- The occupational and geographic dimensions of the informational needs of guidance and counseling are pervasive ones and apply to all aspects of those needs for all youth. We turn now to one aspect of the demand side of these matters (to be followed by one on the supply side) that needs substantial improvement and that is, in fact, quite relevant to the needs of young people who do not intend to embark on extensive educational careers. Although recent years have seen an expanded development through the Employment Service, particularly through Job Banks, of information on job openings, there does not exist today a systematic collection of data on job vacancies. Again, and we will point this out a number of times, the need for these kinds of data are not solely youth-based, and job vacancy information is required as a counterpart to employment/unemployment data generally. A start on collecting statistics in this field was begun in 1969-73, but this effort has been discontinued. Job vacancy data by relevant occupational and geographic detail is one of the more immediate informational needs, and a responsive collection program to furnish them should be re-established.

- On the supply side, an outstanding gap that makes it difficult to assess the manpower/supply situation in job fields, whether it be for immediate placement purposes or for longer range career planning, is the lack of information on the numbers being trained for the job market. Some forward steps have been taken by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for example in its collection and projection work, particularly in the field of higher education.[5] The Bureau of Labor Statistics, which has rounded up all the data it could in this arena in order to juxtapose them against estimates of demand--from vocational training, apprenticeship programs, employer training programs, armed forces training, federal manpower programs, home study courses, junior and community colleges, and colleges and universities--says:

> Knowledge of the different ways people can train for occupations, however, does not provide the information needed for supply-demand analysis or for assessment of the adequacy of vocational education and training progress. Data are needed on the number of individuals completing each type of training, the proportion of those completing training who enter the occupation, and the value employers place on the skill-level of workers who enter through each route. For each of the occupations for which projections are presented, an attempt was made to compile statistics on training. During this research, the Bureau has found that gaps in training statistics are the most severe restriction on the analysis of occupational supply. [6]

In some of the training fields, for example employer programs, the data really do not have gaps--they are simply absent. Even a cursory glance through the referenced BLS Bulletin demonstrates how far we have to go in this matter, the impediments this lack of information puts in the way of even a most elementary assessment of the outlook in an occupation, short or long term, and the need for conceptualizing and then mounting a program to get the data.

Reports and analysis, it is said, wait for no man, and this perhaps is as it should be. Certainly an assessment of the data we do have for its significance to guidance and counseling should not wait until every item is in, especially since analysis often can lead to asking the right questions to which data can respond. There have, of course, been made available a host of research and analytical findings relating to guidance and counseling and some of them will be discussed below. Here too, however, there are major gaps that have to be made overt in any discussion of informational needs in this field.

- During the past several years, some forward steps have been made in launching longitudinal surveys, in addition to cross-sectional investigations. The National Longitudinal Surveys conducted by the Ohio State Center for Human Research under the Labor Department aegis are a good example. These and other surveys will hopefully shed light on the dynamics of the career development process and the multitude of variables impinging upon it. Substantial sums are involved in data gathering in operations of this sort, and we ought to ensure that adequate resources are available for their analysis. The Labor Department's Employment and Training Administration is funding a conference on the program and policy issues of these longitudinal data for those in the preretirement years, and this should spur a significant analytical effort in that field. Similar support for findings for youth should be provided and is indeed contemplated by the Department.

- When and with what information we should intervene in the career-making process will be touched upon below in our discussion of the dissemination of information, but it ought to be stated here that we do not have much data on which to base these decisions. The work by Eli Ginzberg and his associates is fundamental in this regard[7] and again, it is to be hoped that some of the longitudinal data and the evaluation efforts of labor market systems that are being established under federal funding will document new approaches. One example from some very early returns of the National Longitudinal Surveys is instructive of the needs here. Almost one out of every three young men enrolled in school revised their educational goals in just one year (1967-68), and the proportion making that revision actually rose with rising educational attainment: 12 percent for those in the tenth grade; 24 percent for those in the eleventh grade; and 28 percent for those in the twelfth grade.[8] These revisions, more than incidentally, went both ways--some to cut short, others to increase their years of schooling.

- Guidance and conseling is a significant part of the overall educational process, yet it is by no means clear what those linkages are, and to be specific we are still far away from being able to say very much about the educational and training prerequisites for employment except in very broad terms. Aside from the fact that some of the most traditional and cherished prerequisites are now subject to challenge, for example in the courts in matters of affirmative action, the sheer movement, transference, mobility among disciplines as vantage points for moving into the job market call for new assessments of where we are and where we are going in these relationships, unequivocal statements in much of the guidance literature prepared for youth to the contrary notwithstanding.

- A final example, this one in the field of projections of manpower demand/supply situations in the various job fields for use in occupational information. Such projections have made considerable advances over the years and are often based on sophisticated concepts and techniques. In the Bureau of Labor Statistics, for example, an industry-occupational matrix has been the prime methodology in preparing national projections. This effort needs more resources in terms of data input (compare our discussion of the OES program) and manpower for analysis. Just as important (compare our discussion of the geographic dimension to occupational information) is the extension of this kind of work to the state and local level, with some commonality of concept and methodology. The National/State Industry-Occupational Matrix System and the State and Area Occupation Manpower Projections Research Program, including the Employment and Training Administration, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and associated state employment agencies, represent a major step forward in providing projection work with the needed geographic grounding and ought to be supported at needed levels until everyone is on board with the required content done with technical standards that have run the professional gauntlet in the field.

Labor market information has been collected and analyzed and then disseminated in a variety of ways through a variety of channels, including those overtly and deliberately focused for use in guidance and counseling.

- At center stage for the past quarter of a century has been the *Occupational Outlook Handbook (OOH)* prepared in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Ten editions have been issued since 1950; it is one of the government's best sellers and is available extensively in secondary schools, libraries, the Employment Service offices, and a variety of other public and private agencies; it is a distillation of a considerable amount of research and analysis carried out in the Bureau of Labor Statistics itself, as well as in other related agencies; it follows guidelines set down by the National Vocational Guidance Association; it emphasizes such job-related matters as employment outcome, earnings, educational requirements and labor force, demographic and occupational trends; it is profusely illustrated; it is generally readable (although what is readable these days at any level is not quite documented); it is nationally oriented and does not provide geographic detail; its research base is used extensively by private issuers of similar information; its major focus is on long-term trends for career guidance and not on job placement.

The *Occupational Outlook Handbook* is an excellent guidance and counseling tool. It ought to be continued, and its research base ought to be used more extensively by other agencies in the field. Additional resources ought to be made available to permit it to give more attention to some of the personal-social factors involved in career guidance on which a start was made in the last edition. It ought also, in the immediate years ahead, to investigate and bring to bear in its publication more of a story on trends in the employment of minority groups and women in the various occupational fields, although its ability to do so will depend on how some of the recommendations on data collection and analysis presented above will fare. The Bureau of Labor Statistics also ought to be endowed with the resources to follow up on the use of the *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, on its readability, on possible effects of change in format. In fact, the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* and its research and analytical program are important enough for the Bureau of

Labor Statistics to consider the assembly of a committee (perhaps corresponding to the Gordon Committee, which appraised our employment and unemployment statistics) to consider these and other issues related to its publication and its focus.

There has been considerable disscussion concerning the desirability of preparing materials comparable to the *OOH* for use below the secondary school level. As a matter of fact, some materials are indeed being prepared for use in kindergarten through twelfth grade by other agencies, and the staff that produces the *OOH* is now designing a product for use at the junior high school level, which it will then appraise and have tested. These are worthwhile efforts, which ought to be continued and which should then run the gauntlet of professional criticism before any extensive program is mounted in that direction.

There also has been considerable discussion of the desirability of making the *OOH* more responsive to the needs of young people who will have relatively brief school careers, where the long-range outlook is less important than are the more immediate job prospects. In our opinion, this would be a fatal blow to the *OOH*, which should continue its present focus, one that tries to transcend the year-to-year fluctuations and to keep its eye on the long-range, career-oriented matters. Everyone ought to get that long-range outlook; it is condescending to and consigning to second-rate status those who are going to move out of school even before getting a high school diploma, to deprive them of that story and its import. This in no way derogrates the importance of near-term and placement-related information.

Also in relation to the *OOH* and its focus on career occupational information, it ought to be pointed out that there is considerable room for additional dissemination routes of the underlying research besides the *OOH* itself. A good deal of it does get published, ranging from such technical documents as the one presenting the concepts, techniques, and substance of the results of the industry-occupation matrix[9] to articles in the *Monthly Labor Review* to materials presented in the *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*.

It is strongly recommended that the *OOH* be considered the hub of the wheel and that many more spokes be built to reach the wide variety of other important audiences, and that these publications be presented in a manner most responsive to the levels of responsibility and understanding of those different audiences. Specifically, publications ought to be oriented to teachers and guidance and counseling personnel; to parents and parent groups that are taking a more active role in community impact on our schools these days; to administrators of school systems; to business and industrial organizations; to administrators and staffs of federally funded manpower, education, and training programs. The resources required for this operation would be marginal in relation to the basic costs of the research and analysis done in the first place, and the multiplier effect of disseminating the results of that research and analysis would be considerable and almost exponentially reinforcing in communicating those results.

- Although a significant and substantial amount of valuable information can be generated and disseminated from national offices, the great bulk of the actual implementation of the deployment of such information has to take place at the local level. It is here that the action is, that the specificity and concreteness of the operation occurs, including the specificity and concreteness of a good part of the information itself, including what can turn out to be crucial--the person-to-person interactions among students, students and teachers, and guidance and counseling personnel.

As of the mid 1970s, it is fair to say, programs at the state and local level vary all the way from the exemplary to just about a complete shutout. It is also true, however, that the past several years have seen a burst of activity on these fronts, particularly under the impact of such federal legislation as the various Vocational Education Acts, various titles under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, MDTA, and CETA. Funds have been allocated overtly, designed to mount experimental, demonstration, and fullfledged long-term programs for the delivery of occupational and related information. No matter what their source of funding or their design, their goal is indeed to provide the best kinds of information, nationally and geographically oriented, to those who need it, where they need it.

The Occupational Information System Grants Program is a good illustration of this thrust, and it as well as other programs in this field warrant continued support. If they are successful, and the prognosis for success is good, there will be a critical mass of effective program responses in this arena that will make the prognosis for lasting developments just as good.

Various programs that have been started in this context are described in detail in many sources.[10] Many of their characteristics are downright innovative, even if they have been part of the recommended prescriptions for many years--innovative because they are being done. If they continue on their current course, they will quite likely be the wave of the future for disseminating information at the state and local levels.

If done right they include, at a minimum, maximum occupational specificity with the attendant required information on job descriptions, career pathways, skill and knowledge requirements, outlook, earnings; maximum geographic specificity for the jurisdiction, a built-in capacity (with the hands and talent to do it) for updating, because local job and career information has a high rate of obsolesence; immediate access to the client; proper referencing to other sources, but an immediate availability of a meaningful package of information; good overall labor market context for every specific occupational category; staffing by an interdisciplinary group from at least guidance, education, manpower; overall direction and management composed of representatives of users as well as those who produce the information; in large enough jurisdictions, central development of the dissemination system, with individual school and agency users paying a charge, which has the double advantage of making the system run the gauntlet of the market and also paying its way; maximum cooperation and input from all agencies in the jurisdiction, which has the triple advantage of maximizing communication on the part of other noncommunicating groups, avoiding duplication of effort, and minimizing costs.

MANPOWER

Standing astride all the major issues in this arena is the question of the role of the individuals who perform the guidance, counseling, and related services provided for youth. An equally important point is the fact that their number, composition, deployment within and outside of the school system, geographic distribution, functional roles, and even their education and training all have been critically determined by the nature and conditions of federal programs and policies in the field, particularly during the past third of a century.

Even an attenuated historical roll call of federal legislation can illustrate this point: the George-Barden Act (1946) and its authorization of federal funds for the support of counselor education; the "G.I. Bill of Rights" and its support of occupational research, guidance and counseling activities, and even doctoral programs in some areas of counselor education; the beginning in the early 1940s of the Occupational Outlook Program and its associated research activities; the 1958 National Defense Education Act, which Kenneth Hoyt claims "has had a greater impact on counselor education than any other single force in the history of the guidance movement;"[11] the Manpower Development and Training Act and its widest range of guidance, counseling, job development, placement, and related services; and, of course, concurrent with all of these, the ebb and flow of programs in these fields by the Employment Service, which in turn was affected by the provisions of these very legislative enactments.

It is rarely if ever pointed out that most of this legislation and many others of its kind, even though it turns out to have overridingly important impacts on counseling and related services, have their origins in an attempt to respond to a diverse set of social and economic problems, for example the return of millions of members of the armed forces to civilian life or the emergence of the space age or technological and other mainsprings of unemployment or poverty and discrimination. It is equally rare to find in all of this legislation and even in its consequent policy and program follow-up any prior assessment of what indeed its implications are for the manpower demand/supply situation for counseling or any other king of personnel.

The results can fairly be stated as a series of ad hoc adjustments affecting both the quantity and quality of services rendered, as well as major discontinuities in the evaluation of the professional preparation of personnel who provide those services. Similar discontinuities have occurred over relatively short periods in the assessments of the roles that counseling personnel should play in helping youth adjust to the labor market and especially in the relationship of that role to other functions those people may play in the educational and personal-social-psychological adjustments young people must also make at the same time.

As we move into the second half of the 1970s, the relatively recent thrust in career education and guidance has enhanced if not exacerbated all of those developments. A special issue of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* of the American Personnel and Guidance Association was recently devoted to this matter,[12] and it is a good reflection of some of the major forces affecting the professional manpower in the field. Throughout the issue there is an emphasis on the wide variety of "competencies" that career counselors must have if they are to become "agents of educational and societal change," and in one article there is an actual listing of the almost staggering menu of counselor competencies needed by the practitioners. Here is a skimming of that menu, which is listed under seven courses:

> *Career Counseling Competencies.* They (counselors) need to become skilled in using new and emerging assessment instruments with clients in clients' exploration of self and of possible operations. They need to develop a repertoire of specific individual and group career counseling techniques, such as career life line, the meaning of work exercises, work and leisure values, and career goal setting. . . .
>
> *Program Planning Competencies.* As behavioral scientists and individual advocates, counselors must bring to these planning efforts the following competencies (a) career development theory. . .; (b) mastery of cognitive theory, to explain processing of information and openness to change; (c) mastery of personality theory, to plan for client development of commitment, sense of identity, increasing ownership of values, and fidelity to goals. . .; (d) knowledge of decision theory, to insure that clients' options are open, fluid, and broad--and knowledge of vocational choice theory; (e) occupational knowledge, including trends, optional training routes, employment opportunities, and sources of information; (f) curriculum development and organizational intervention; (g) skills in planning, structuring, implementing, and evaluating career development programs.[13]

The other five competencies include "Implementation," for example techniques for helping groups who have special needs and androgeny--an ability to feel, interpret, and deal with the effects of cultural socialization on the career development of men and women; "Consultation," for example working with representatives from the community, other agencies, parents; "Linkage," for example establishing follow-up and follow-through activities with and for the client; "Staff Development," for example conducting workshops for other staff members in cognitive and affective areas; and, finally, "Evaluation," for example the ability to design and implement evaluation strategies, including data collection and analysis, and report writing.

No wonder, then, that the author says at the beginning of her presentation,". . .counselors can no longer expect to be sole deliverers of career guidance; rather they must be managers, studying the experiences and needs of their clients and drawing on all the human and material resources within the community."[14]

There is, of course, hardly any unanimity on this kind of configuration of the conselor's function and the educational programs needed to implement it. There is a significant body of opinion, starting from the same assessment of where we are, which argues for an overt, designed, purposive emphasis on the vocational aspects of the profession's goals in working with youth; there are others who point to the emphasis on a career rather than on a job as a recognition of the stress needed on lifetime development as a whole in all its aspects. This disagreement may be more a matter of emphasis than substantive, but it does make a big difference in how programs are actually carried out, as does the relationship of the counselor to the classroom teacher, the involvement of paraprofessionals, the community, and other such factors.

For example, writing no more than a decade ago, Dr. Super said: "Typical school counselors give most of their time to counseling for college and high school programs; administering tests and teaching take almost as much time; after these come counseling for developing intellectual potentials and for inadequate scholastic achievement, and finally counseling for occupations. Vocational counseling ranks low, reflecting, Wrenn concluded, a disturbing failure to provide what many consider a vital service."[15]

Interestingly enough, Super goes on to present the results of a survey by the American School Counselors Association (ASCA) among school counselors who were asked what they expected the major activities for counselors would be in 1980. Fifty-seven percent pointed to counseling with students, only 8 percent involved vocational counseling.

These findings (and others) appeared in a publication prepared under the aegis of the National Vocational Guidance Association, which followed up with another volume a decade later, with another chapter on these matters perpared by Dr. Kenneth Hoyt.[16] A good deal of change occurred during this span of time, of course, including new major federal legislation and a substantial amount of work by the profession in assessing its own work, standards, education. Yet, when all was said and done, Dr. Hoyt wrote:

> The current picture with respect to vocational aspects of counselor preparation can in no real way be said to appear bright. Yet there are forces on the horizon that make it apparent that this place of counselor preparation simply must be given a high priority.
>
> The basic point to be recognized is that in the years ahead there will be a major emphasis given to the career guidance function--and that function is going to be assumed by some group. If the unity of counselor preparation is to be retained, it appears that one price to be paid will be an emphasis on preparation for career guidance on the part of all counselors. Unless this is done, we surely face a period where separate "vocational counselors" are sure to emerge despite the philosophical pleas of counselor educators. [17]

These paragraphs on counselor roles are not set down to enter the fray, but to illustrate again that current federal legislation and program emphasis, for example career education, is once more rocking the boat. It illustrates again that these issues are more matters of substance than form, because that legislation and all of its program consequences are trying to respond to surpassingly important forces bearing on youth, including but not limited to their transactions with the world of work. It illustrates again that these legislative/policy/program developments have taken place with little if any assessment of their manpower consequences.

Against this background, it is important to note that much of the professional leadership in this field is open to change. The editor of the *Journal*, which prepared this special issue to which we referred, put it this way: "Whether conceived narrowly or incorporated into broader definitions, the process of helping people to plan and implement the work aspects of their lives has been a major function of the field of counseling and guidance from its very beginning. Now, with a sincere interest in this area nationally, with the commitment of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) to career guidance through recent policy statements, and with the Association's major leadership in introducing legislation in the United States Congress as we go to press, we may well be at the beginning of a large step forward in high quality and quantity of services and programs."[18]

Perhaps more important than words is the fact that there have indeed been mounted a wide variety of excellent programs throughout the country attempting to cope with the issues in this field in and out of the main educational arenas. They involve such diverse groups as the Boy Scouts of America, Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), and the Richmond, Virginia, Chamber of Commerce; across-the-board kindergarten through twelfth grade programs with substantial innovative inputs from Mesa, Arizona, to the Developmental Career Guidance Project (DCGP) in Detroit, Michigan, to the American Foundation for Negro Affairs (AFNA) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. All of them involve different combinations and permutations in using counseling personnel in different combinations and permutations of interactions with instructional personnel, business and industry, public and private community organizations, parents, and unions. In just about every one of these cases, there was some funding from federal sources: CETA, Vocational Education Acts, Elementary and Secondary Education Act's various Titles, and others.

To cite these instances is not to get euphoric about the matter. More jurisdictions are, in fact, swimming against the financial tide of recent times in the states and cities, and it would be obfuscatory not to mention the real fact concerning the general, public malaise about the efficacy of the guidance and counseling process. If anyone doubts what happens in a budget crunch, the recent experience of New York City's retrenchment efforts are instructive: guidance personnel were one of the first and hardest hit groups (with no fall-back position to teaching). And as this paper is being prepared, *Time* Magazine's cover story ("Brother, Can You Spare $4 Billion?") dares to be specific in making recommendations for savings by New York by listing five prime candidates, one of which is "vocational counseling and job placements, which is ineffective and overlaps state services (total savings: $57 million).[19]

Also, the fact that the federal government is involved directly and indirectly does not, of course, afford any magic wand in this arena. Note this assessment from the current (at this writing) *Monthly Labor Review* article on the Job Corps. More than incidentally, it also underscores some of the problems involved in dealing with some of the more intractably disadvantaged youth.

> Professional counseling was highly touted in the early years as an essential component of the intensive approach, but enrollee/counselor ratios at centers have never allowed for much individual counseling between the standard entrance and exit interviews. Moreover, as Congress tightened Job Corps budgets, counseling services were cut. Combined with multiple counselor responsibilities (training advisors, keeping records, consulting with mental health professionals, etc.) and

apparent enrollee reluctance to seek counseling, this understaffing limited counselors to "trouble shooting' crisis situations. Efforts to maximize counselor effectiveness by preventative methods usually took the form of required attendance at group counseling sessions,but enrollee reticence has plagued such groups. [20]

As final background to our recommendations in this part of the paper, we pondered (briefly) the desirability of presenting a summary of available data on the numbers and utilization of guidance personnel, how they are deployed, who they work with, and some accountability of their efforts in relation to youth. We cite some sources,[21] but do not present the figures because (1) they are incomplete, patchwork, inconsistent; (2) perhaps more important, they lack systematic definitional and conceptual formulation; and therefore (3) they can be quite misleading for drawing conclusions about trends and effectiveness.

This much is evident: again, just about every combination and permutation of numbers and utilization of manpower in this field exists somewhere, in full-time and part-time counselors, in their interface with instructional personnel, in their transactions with the outside world, in their work with the family and other social units, in their use of paraprofessionals, in their diplomatic relationships with the Employment Service. At the same time, significant differences exist in their pay and status in the hierarchy, their perceived functions vis-a-vis different groups in the youth population, the posture they themselves have in the perception of students, families, and community agencies. All of this is not necessarily bad if it is indeed responsive to the significant social, economic, demographic, political differences that are characteristic of the host of jurisdictions in a country as large as the United States. But we don't know this for a fact. What we have is mostly anecdotal, made up in large part of a knowledge of some "very good" programs that are reported and documented in the journals and other reports (we do the same in this paper) and some "very bad" programs that sometimes make the press, but not the journals and texts.

In the light of all this, these recommendations are in order:

- We hark back first to the President's statement in the 1972 *Manpower Report:* "Both the efficiency of our economy and the well-being of the country's workers will be served by a more systematic assessment of the manpower consequences of government policies and programs." This has not been implemented; there is no overt provision for doing this for either prospective legislation or legislation and programs now in operation. It is a matter peculiarly appropriate for the National Commission for Manpower Policy; it is a matter particularly appropriate for manpower legislation and manpower programs; it is a matter essentially appropriate for manpower dealing with the education and guidance of youth for transacting with the world of work.

- There ought to be established within the appropriate Departments, particularly Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, staffs charged specifically with the task of quantifying the manpower implications of the relevant legislation and programs within their purview in this arena and charged with an ongoing assessment of the manpower demand/supply situation, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, in this field.

This cannot be done unless there is a flow, on a systematic, regular basis, of information on what the nature and the conditions of employment of the relevant manpower are. A necessary condition for such an exercise is an agreed upon formulation of the concepts and definitions of this kind of work, which would be a worthwhile exercise by itself.

- Such an exercise ought to be undertaken forthwith and should be accompanied by at least the following requirements: the establishment of the universe of utilization of such manpower, including not only educational institutions, but the Employment Service and other public and private agencies; some relationship to concepts and definitions used in other national labor force studies, so that some comparative evaluations can be made; some periodicity; and the involvement of the professional personnel and their organizations in its development.

As a logical consequence of all of this (and, indeed, some of this is now taking place), the manpower requirements of plans and programs that deal with youth and that require approval under the various manpower training and education legislation now in force ought be an essential part of the approval process. The adequacy of those requirements and the prognosis for making them, in terms of guidance, counseling, placement, job development, and other such factors, should be made overt and assessed in both qualitative and quantitative dimensions. This could be just as important as are current rules and regulations about making clear the environmental/ecological implications of other activities.

- One of the major, critical components of the manpower constellation serving youth is the Employment Service (ES). Its capability in this field has been marked by a series of ad hoc adjustments depending on turns in legislative and administrative developments not only regarding youth, but many other sectors of the client population, for example veterans, minorities and the handicapped.

    - To become a more useful service agency for youth the Employment Service must develop an adequate corps of professional personnel in the guidance, counseling, placement, testing and job development fields with pay and status consonant with those of professional peers outside the Service. This corps ought to be of a size and quality that enables the Services to cope with its own developing workload and to offer the relevant services to schools and other public and private community agencies. If it is necessary to increase funding to the Employment Service to accomplish this task, there ought to be such funds.

– The degree to which schools and other agencies use the Service and its services will change from time to time and will differ from place to place. But if the Employment Service develops a reputation as a resource with adequate and professional staff, then the Service will be used more and more. It could become the hub of the wheel in this arena under these circumstances.

– The technology exists for making available Job Bank resources to schools and other community agencies--whether or not they establish or already have their own placement centers. The Job Bank resources ought to be shared in this manner.

– The budget consequences of such Employment Service activities are relatively very small, especially in relation to the totality of expenditures in this field. In addition, these activities can be undertaken in a manner that leads to essential cost effectiveness, because a number of these services, including use of some of the hardware, could be expensed and charged for. The other side of this coin should be a requirement for plans and programs formulated under relevant legislation to budget for and obtain these services, or a case should be made for not doing so. It is both substantively and politically defensible to make the services available but to allow for variations and differences for reasons peculiar to the given programs, plan, or place.

– A good deal of the success and efficacy of the Employment Service in dealing with the transition of youth to work (as is true with other constituencies, although in this case the relationship with the school arena is almost sui generis) depends on the perception of that organization by its users, including the youth. For their part, therefore, Employment Service personnel have to extend their efforts not only to provide quality service, but to seek and to use consultation, advice, and other inputs from that very constituency. Requiring their services under any other circumstances won't do.

- A separate note needs to be made about the matter of manpower in job placement. It is generally true--more particularly true for 16-to-21-year-old youth who are not baccalaureate bound, even more true for minority youth in this cohort--that the service least provided by schools is job placement. For a wide variety of reasons, not the least of which is traditional counselor competency in these activities, job development and placement are not the forte of the great majority of school systems in this country. Some of the programs formulated under manpower, education, and related legislation have deliberately made these activities a key and strong part of their services; some private agencies with specialized missions, for example in the placement of the handicapped, also have done the same, and, of course, the Employment Service has job placement as a central function.[22] All of this should be put side by side with the evidence that students rank the efficacy of all of these job placement services down near the bottom of the totem pole, while they rank their desire for such placement services right near the top.[23]

  - Some of the first reports on programs that are being mounted and/or funded under the career education rubric indicate a stronger complement of talent and activity on the job development and placement front in the schools, some of it in conjunction with the Employment Service. For the immediate years ahead, however, the prognosis is that for a significant majority of the schools, placement activity--aside from such traditionally successful areas as cooperative and work-study fields--is going to be limited. Emphasis on job development and placement by the Employment Service in the context of our recommendation No. 4 therefore deserves the highest priority, not only as a viable pathway of cooperation with schools, but also as a major substantive response to the needs of youth. This is said in the face of a significant diminution in Employment Service placement of youth in many years of the past decade; but this fact emphasizes the point all the more, and again in the face of the problems of jobs for youth currently and in the offing.

- All projections of economic growth for the immediate years ahead indicate a continuation, if indeed not an increase, in the labor market adjustment problems of the youth who are the subjects of this exercise. They indicate at least a continuation, if indeed not an increase, in the need for the guidance and counseling services, across the board that are also the subjects of this paper. At the same time, the prospects for school finances are relatively poor, particularly under the frictions engendered by declining enrollments and a very significant change in manpower demand/supply prospects for educational personnel generally. If all of this does ensue, then the prospects are that programs mounted and funded under the aegis of various federal programs will be even more important in their impact. Under these circumstances we ought to consider the following factors:

- Support for the retraining of young persons who lack job opportunities in elementary and secondary school teaching but who already have a substantial educational background, for guidance and counseling competency; and for placement not only in schools but in the Employment Service, in various programs under manpower development and training programs; and in business and community agencies.

- Support for the training of paraprofessionals in this field, some if not many of whom might come from the ranks or our youth. The utilization of paraprofessionals seems to be increasing, and we ought to marshal information on this trend, with illustrative cases of how and where it works and doesn't work. Twenty years ago Eli Ginzberg brought together an excellent survey and conference on this topic, and a start might be made that way.[24]

- There is complementary activity on the demand side that is worth exploring and supporting. There is growing participation by industry and business in this whole process, and it shows up particularly in the exemplary programs under manpower and career education programs. Industry and business serve in a partnership in some of these programs, not as window dressing, but with many concrete inputs. These inputs include making their places of business available for site visits by students, for cooperative work programs, for business experience for teachers and counselors. Some industries and businesses actually have job developers and counselors on their own staffs, partly as a function of their own recruiting, partly also as a public service. Some also provide financial support for various educational programs and for training and counseling for specific groups, such as minorities. Support ought to be considered for demonstration projects or for any other plans and programs that make industry and business participation an overt part of the scheme of action. Education is moving more and more off site, outside the school; guidance and counseling ought to at least follow suit.

● There is another group in the manpower constellation that has to be mentioned. In fact, if we didn't, we would be guilty of what we have been pointing our finger at others for, that is, not taking into account the manpower implications of the manpower recommendations being made. If all the manpower we have been talking about--guidance and counseling personnel of all persuasions, job developers, and placement personnel in and out of the school systems and in and out of the Employment Service--are to do their jobs on the basis of the best kinds of intelligence, then the information they need has to be formulated, defined, collected, brought together, analyzed, reported, and disseminated, and we need the hands and skills and talent to bring all of that about too. They are needed not only at the national level, particularly in the relevant parts of such agencies as Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, but in all their analogues at the state and local levels, among sponsors, prime and otherwise.

- Finally, we point again, as we did in the section on occupational information, to the critical need for evaluation, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, of the input by guidance and counseling manpower on the transition from school to work of youth. We are at genesis in these matters; we lack even an agreed-upon (even a disagreed-upon) set of criteria for evaluative purposes; we don't know why various outcome ensue even when such outcomes are reported as effective or ineffective. Perhaps some of the efforts in this field referred to in the previous section will be to some avail, but they are of course discrete projects, many from quite different vantage points, with quite diverse resources and even goals--and even if done well they may turn out to be unique to the given project, valuable though they be to that place, purpose, and program. Perhaps we ought to ask as a first question: Is it indeed possible to formulate a few evaluative concepts and procedures that are researchable across the board and directly responsive to an assessment of the effectiveness of guidance and counseling manpower in the transition process? It is really possible to disaggregate these efforts from the enormously complex and changing social, economic, and other institutional contexts in which these efforts take place? If those concepts and techniques are really available and ascertainable, then they ought to be made part of a required exercise on the part of enough funded projects to begin to give us the feedback it is said we need and want.

We come now full circle to where we began by citing from the most recent edition of the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* on the employment prospects for personnel in the guidance and counseling field:

- For school counselors, the *Handbook* says: "The extent and future growth in counselor employment will depend largely on the amount of funds which the Federal Government provides to states for this purpose." (p. 546)

- For employment counselors, the *Handbook* says: "Expansion of these programs and consequently the extent of growth in employment of counselors will depend in large part on the level of funding by the Federal Government, as well as on the distribution of revenue sharing monies allocated to these programs by the individual states." (p. 548)

For *rehabilitation counselors*, the *Handbook* says: "The extent of growth in employment of counselors . . . will depend on levels of government funding for vocational rehabilitation." (p. 550)

If indeed this kind of omnipresent omnipotence on the part of the federal government is the way we are going, then the manner in which these and other recommendations are implemented--by omission or commission--will indeed make the difference.

THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING

It is the argument of this paper that improvements in the information-manpower one-two punch will indeed make a significant difference in improving the transition of youth from school to work.

It has to be pointed out, however, that without some changes in our institutional setting all this will not ensue, even with those advances.

Here are five matters, briefly stated, that represent the necessary though not sufficient conditions for allowing the information-manpower connection to effectively impinge on the problem.

- W. Wirtz and H. Goldstein, refer to the work of the Labor Department in its occupational and manpower research and then go on to say: "These efforts have had, however, what is at most limited impact. Many young people never see the publications; many never even see a counselor in their high schools. As for planning of training in line with prospective employment needs, there has been a notable non-use by the Vocational Education Offices in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the occupational outlook data assembled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor--10 blocks away on a map of the City of Washington, but around the world as bureauracy's ravens fly."[26]

Even after discounting the picturesque language, the message still is that there really is not the kind of interacting relationship among agencies even at the federal level that there needs to be, and a significant number of our recommendations will be to no avail unless this comes about, including the constituent agencies of those two Departments at the state and local level as well.

The authors then go on to quote from what is getting to be an oft-quoted document produced by the General Accounting Office:[27] "Although the Vocational Education Act requires that vocational training or retraining be realistic in the light of actual or anticipated opportunities for gainful employment, this factor generally has not been adequately considered in planning for and evaluating vocational education programs.

As a result, there is little assurance that changing manpower needs are being addressed in secondary or post-secondary occupational programs supported by Federal funds."

We agree.

- The quotes just cited also indicate that students get little exposure either to publications or to counselors, and the documentation for this statement apparently is continually confirmed in various studies. Noeth, Roth, and Prediger, in another frequently quoted study based on a sample of 32,000 students in 33 states, found that even at the eleventh-grade level, only 58 percent of the students said that they ever talked to a counselor or a teacher about the jobs they were interested in and how these jobs related to their goals, interests, and ability (91 percent of them talked to their parents about it); two-thirds never took a course on aspects of the world of work; 40 percent never engaged in such activities as "job fairs" or "career days," which are supposed to be staples of guidance activities. The authors then conclude on the basis of these and other results:

> The breadth of evidence suggests that a substantial number of students have had little involvement with career planning activities at a time when major career-related decisions are becoming imminent--we believe that the study results, considered as a whole, indicate that the student-expressed need for help with career planning is in sharp contrast to the amount of help the students report they have received . . . guidance practitioners have a long way to go to meet career development needs of American youth. By and large, guidance programs appear to be falling short of students' needs, even in those areas involving the more commonplace career guidance activities long advocated in counselor education programs and textbooks.[28]

We agree.

The authors then go on to make a recommendation that comes down to the suggestion that counselors examine their own local situations, with a local study of "career development status and needs of students" . . ."such a study, conducted by the counseling staff in cooperation with other educators, can also help communicate student plans, reactions, and needs to appropriate staff and community groups."

We disagree.

With no intent to derogate studies (we recommended some), the fact is that we do not need any additional data on this particular subject. We need the actions called for in some of our recommendations, plus consideration of the following points:

- The reasons that students do not read occupational materials or do not get to see counselors are, it is true, really not documented by the various surveys. The "fault" is usually assigned to the counselors, their competency, the deployment of their time to other matters, and other such factors. This may or may not be the case, and some of our recommendations on the manpower side, for example use of paraprofessionals, may help. The picture of hordes of secondary school students fighting to get occupational information and being kept at bay by the lack of interest or the incompetence of counselors, however, seems to be overdrawn. There has to be, besides ready access to materials and counselors, some action that impinges upon the client to indicate that that access is worthwhile.

Knowing how to bring that about is not easy, but there is enough experience around to point to some overriding matters in this regard. For example, the very state of the job market itself and the feedback that youth get on that state affect student interest in occupational information. For significant numbers, discrimination on the basis of sex and color has had a long history of stereotyping many groups of occupations, and often the entire job market, to the point where relevant career and job information is not considered seriously. Schools of business administration (and this writer is currently a dean of one of them) will attest that even to this day it is difficult to attract black students because of the long history of discrimination in the fields covered by business schools, although the employment outlook for these fields is considered much better than in the more traditional fields on which blacks embark.[29]

These are matters that go beyond this exercise, but they are overridingly important, if only to make the needed point that labor market information, no matter how impeccably prepared, analyzed, and documented, is not a magic wand available for waving over youth trying to find their way to gainful employment. It is instructive that in a conference sponsored by the Department of Labor, to which reference has been made before (Notes 3, 10), both the keynote statement by the then Undersecretary of Labor and the plenary session address by the head of the relevant directorate of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, who was looking at the problem from an international point of view, both gave primary emphasis to the need for improving the "rites of passage," for reorienting and perhaps even embarking on new institutional arrangements in this field. Both statements are worth reading and pondering.[30]

- There are a few matters, however, that can be attended in the short run and that do not need major new transformations. Some, in fact, involve expansion of what is already being done rather extensively. One example is the area of work-related study, cooperative education or "coupled" training, as it was called under MDTA, where institutional classroom instruction and on-the-job training were put together. For all students, particularly for those whose entrance into the labor force comes earlier than later, this format for using the world of work and all the spin-off that comes with it--the school-business relationships it engenders, the opportunity and responsibility for running the gauntlet of the actual job market--put together with career guidance, job direction, and placement obligates and reinforces the counseling process exponentially, and makes that process real to the student.

We want to emphasize the fact that such formats as cooperative work programs should be made available to all students and not just to those who may be leaving school before high school graduation or who are not going on to some college work. Others need it too; aiming such items as cooperative education appellations only at "school leavers" or other groups with similar invidious appellations also emphasizes the perception among the latter of the equally invidious distinctions being made between them and others. By the same token, as already indicated, we believe career, long-term information ought to be given to the noncollege-bound just as well as to those who will stay longer in the formal educational stream.

This may also be the place to make the point that occupational information takes place in a variety of ways, and goes far beyond the standard routes we have talked about up to now, far beyond the narrow questions as to whether a student just reads printed materials, or printouts, reads it together with a counselor, gets it spoon-fed by the counselor without reading, et cetera, et cetera. Information is derived from parents and relatives, friends and enemies, radio and TV, and for some occupations the chances are that TV alone outranks all the rest. Cooperative programs, whatever their format, are also a piece of occupational information, and a very important one at that.

One of the ancillary but also very important advantages of these kinds of programs can be put as follows: The education and guidance process in most of America is a lock-step process, although there are programs that are trying to break out of this pattern with activities that are more related to the needs of individuals, that will be *individual oriented*. There is very little that is more productive in eliciting and motivating interest and response than programs of information that try to be custom tailored to what a person needs at a given juncture at a given place. This does not necessarily mean one-on-one counseling, because groups of people whose stage of readiness is about the same can be organized and transacted with. One of the great advantages of such programs as cooperative activities is that they bring this kind of context along with them. It is the individual who begins to make choices, it is the individual who begins to cope with the discipline and the interpersonal activities of a work situation, it is the individual who begins to be accountable.

- We have referred a number of times to the fact that the field under review is replete with suggestions on how to disaggregate counseling and guidance activities for different groups within the 16-to-21-years cohort being discussed--for school leavers and stayers, for the college-bound and the noncollege-bound, for the advantaged and disadvantaged, for the educational careerists and the more immediately job directed, for the information seekers and the job placement seekers. We also have offered the suggestion that this is really not the approach to take. In this, our final point, we suggest a format that explains why.

As we have said in detail elsewhere,[31] the guidance and counseling process has to be a continuous one, provided to everyone who needs it, whether they are in or out of school, in or out of the job market. It can be disseminated in and out of school, in and out of the job market. Guidance and counseling, particularly its informational dimension, broadly defined, ought to be endowed with the same conceptual treatment with which we are trying to endow education and training--it ought to be continuous, recurrent. In this context, words (and the deeds that correspond to them) such as "dropout" or "graduate" are not the operational terms. There has to be a specific design that permits free and easy passage between in and out of school settings and the opportunity to move between the two for all those who want, need, and seek it--free of tests and other gauntlets to be seen as prerequisites for such access. Testing and other assessments are important--after access has been afforded. Guidance and counseling should have just as much of a "second chance" parameter as do education and training.

Under this format a great deal of what we have recommended starts to come together. The system does get to be navigated but individually oriented and paced, with recognition that the system has to deliver different kinds of things at different times and different stages even to the same individual. Indeed, it enhances the need for those different things--from long-range career planning to immediate job placement, not compartmentalized in design, but designedly brought together for the clients' use.

NOTES

1. The Advisory Committee on Education, *Report of the Committee* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February 1938).

2. National Manpower Advisory Committee, Subcommittee on Professional, Scientific, and Technical Manpower, *The Role of the U. S. Department of Labor In Relation to Professional, Scientific,and Technical Manpower* (Washington, D.C., July 14, 1972).

3. Cf., "The New Federal-State Employment Statistics Program," *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 94, no. 10 (Washington, D.C., October 1971), pp. 12-17; and R.B. Flanders, "Occupational Data: The Foundation of a Labor Market Information System," *Labor Market Information for Youths*, S.L. Wolfbein, ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University School of Business Administration, 1975).

4. Cf., for example, Section II. "Localized Measurements" in W. Wirtz, and H. Goldstein, *A Critical Look at The Measuring of Work* (Washington, D.C.: National Manpower Institute, August 1975).

5. Cf. for example, *Projections of Educational Statistics to 1983-1984*, 1974 edition, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Education Division/National Center for Education Statistics (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975).

6. *Occupational Manpower and Training Needs*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin no. 1824 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974).

7. *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

8. *Career Thresholds, A Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Labor Market Experience of Male Youth*, vol. 3, Center For Human Resource Research, Ohio State University (Columbus, June 1971).

9. *The U.S. Economy in 1985*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin no. 1809 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974).

10. Cf. articles by Barry Stern, Bruce McKinley, and Benjamin Hargrove on the Occupational Information System Grants Program and the approaches used in Oregon and California in S.L. Wolfbein (note 3) and articles by Arland Benson and D. H. Blocker, Byron McKennon and G.B. Jones, J.F. Leonard and T. J. Vriend, for developing systems at various grade levels in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, May 1975 (vol. 53, no. 9), Special Issues, *Career Development: Guidance and Education*.

11. Chapter 20, "Professional Preparation for Vocational Guidance," in *Vocational Guidance and Human Development*, E.L. Herr, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974), p. 504.

12. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, May 1975 vol, 53, no. 9, Special Issue, *Career Development: Guidance and Education*.

13. *Ibid*., A.M. Mitchell, "Emerging Career Guidance Competencies".

14. *Ibid*., p. 700.

15. In "Professional Status and Affiliations of Vocational Counselors," Chapter 24 of *Man in a World of Work*, H. Borow, ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964), p. 564.

16. Herr, *op. cit*., chapter 20.

17. *Ibid*., pp. 521-22.

18. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, May 1975, p. 635.

19. *Time*, October 20, 1975, p. 16.

20. S.A. Levitan, "Job Corps Experience with Manpower Training" *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 98, no. 10, February 1976.

21. Cf., for example, reports from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's National Center for Educational Statistics on *Statistics of State School Systems* and *Statistics of Local Public School Systems*.

22. Some of these facets of guidance and counseling for noncollege-bound youth as portrayed in the literature can be seen in, for example, Ganschow, Hellowell, Hamilton, Jones, and Tiedeman, *Practical Career Guidance, Counseling and Placement for the Noncollege-Bound Student* (Palo Alto: American Institutes for Research, 1973).

23. Cf., for example, R.J. Noeth, J.D. Roth, D.J. Prediger, "Student Career Development: Where Do We Stand?" *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, March 1975 (vol. 23, no. 3), pp. 210-18.

24. Cf. *Proceedings of a Conference on the Utilization of Scientific and Professional Manpower* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956).

25. For example in Skyline High School and Career Development Center in Dallas; Executive Intern Program in New York City; N.I.E. demonstration projects in Philadelphia, Portland (Oregon), Oakland (California), Charleston (W. Virginia); Job Development Program in Cleveland.

26. W. Wirtz and H. Goldstein, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

27. *What Is the Role of Federal Assistance for Vocational Education?* A Report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, December 1974).

28. R.J. Noeth, J.D. Roth, D.J. Prediger, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 217.

29. "1974 Minority Report. Student Enrollment and Faculty Distribution," American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business, Mimeographed (Creve Cover, 1975).

30. R.F. Schubert, "The Rites of Passage" and R. Gass, "Approaches to the Transition from School to Work" in S.L. Wolfbein, *op. cit.*

31. "Seven Strategies for Success in Vocational Education," *Functional Education for Disadvantaged Youth*, S.M. McMurrin, ed., (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1971), pp. 52-82.

CHAPTER 9

APPRENTICESHIP: A POTENTIAL WEAPON AGAINST MINORITY YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Ernest G. Green

This paper focuses on apprenticeship training, its relationship to minorities, and its potential for reducing youth unemployment.

It covers in detail the nature of apprenticeship as it has developed in the United States and what it is today, how apprenticeship training is administered and funded, and the role of unions, employers, and federal and state government.

There is also discussion on the social and institutional barriers working against minority penetration of the apprenticeship training mechanism, and a description of the apprenticeship outreach program devised to increase such penetration.

Although apprenticeship covers both industrial and construction craft training, most of my experience has been related to construction, but I feel my views are applicable to the industrial sector as well. Indeed, apprenticeship training is a most adaptable instrument that can be used in highly specific situations.

THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM

In general, apprenticeship can be defined as a method of learning a manual or technical skilled trade through on-the-job training and related classroom instruction. Four major industries utilize apprenticeship training: manufacturing, construction, utilities, and service (maintenance). A common feature of apprentice training is some kind of formal organization that sets standards and certifies the skill level attained. Journeyman status is desirable as a recognition of skill attainment, particularly if movement from one employer to another is a likely occurrence.

The system as we know it originated in the European medieval craft guild system, through which a person served under a skilled master to learn a craft. Then as now, apprenticeship had a distinct set of entry requirements, penalties, and mechanisms for controlling wages and hours.

Little of the guild system was brought to America, although many Americans are descended from indentured servants whose contractual attachment to their employer resembled traditional apprenticeship. Institutional apprenticeship awaited the trade union movement, which did not take on importance until the late nineteenth century.

Considerable numbers of blacks had acquired skills as slaves and, briefly, as freedmen. Blacks manned the building trades and numerous others in the ante-bellum South but were pushed aside and shut off after slavery was ended. Apprenticeship entry soon became closed as working class movements concentrated on restricting labor supply in the face of recurring employment slumps and depressions. The preoccupation with labor supply was and is still a factor in craft entry, and in recent times much effort has been expended to recognize job insecurity without sanctioning racial discrimination.

Historically, apprenticeship training may have been informal but was actually controlled on-the-job training. Modern apprenticeship training, which lasts from two to five years and which is often very formal, changed as our country became industrialized and urban. Today, an apprentice is indentured to (that is, contracts with) a joint labor and management committee or a single sponsor who is responsible for the apprentice's progress. Apprentices are subjected to a systematic pursuit of skills that combine formal course instruction and on-the-job training.[1]

The state of Wisconsin set up the first public apprenticeship program in 1913, but it was not until 1937 that the federal government passed the National Apprenticeship, or Fitzgerald, Act. This legislation called for the creation of the Apprenticeship Training Service (ATS) under the Department of Labor. Later, the ATS was renamed the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT).

BAT now recognizes 350 apprenticeable trades. Sixty percent of BAT's registered[2] apprentices are in the construction industry;[3] a fact that makes this industry both absolutely and relatively the most dedicated to this system. The oldest user and also a strong user, of apprentices is the printing industry, which has many separate trades.

There are twenty-five building and construction trades in which apprentices register. Of these, seven are considered the elite crafts because they require higher skills, due to the complexity of the trade and the length of time it takes to master it. These are: electricians, elevator constructors, operating engineers, plumbers/pipefitters, sheetmetal workers, steamfitters, and ironworkers.

Although training program standardization has been both a goal and a trend shared by both the industry and the public sector, apprenticeship programs still vary widely in duration of training, administration, entry requirements, and, presumably, in their financing. These contrasts usually occur between crafts and sometimes between local unions of the same craft in different cities.

ADMINISTRATION OF APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

The administration of and responsibility for the apprenticeship training system rests with Joint Apprenticeship Committees (JAC), which are local bodies comprised of representatives from management and labor. Within this system itself, however, is a network of complex relationships. The unions themselves administer the skills training, but BAT, authorized by legislation in the Fitzgerald Act, establishes basic federal policy. BAT has a major responsibility to register, actually to certify, individual programs. Using BAT guidelines and prerequisites, national and local JACs develop their own entry and training requirements for respective trades under their jurisdictions. There is considerable flexibility in program design. JACs may assume the responsibility for day-to-day supervision or may act only in advisory capacities to the director or administrator of the program.

The Fitzgerald Act further authorized a Federal Committee on Apprenticeship (FCA),[4] an advisory arm, to assist the BAT. Another level of governmental involvement in the administration of apprenticeship training programs are the State Apprenticeship Councils (SAC). Operational in thirty states, the SACs have a major role in apprentice registration and program administration in their respective states. BAT has the responsibility for approving state programs based on SACs own general requirements. Thus, there exists some jurisdictional overlapping between BAT and SAC. Because of the role duplication between the two, programs meeting standards mandated by FCA or state apprenticeship agencies may be registered by either BAT or SAC. Further, apprentices who successfully complete programs receive completion certificates from BAT or SAC.

BAT's general requirements are --

- A minimum starting age of 16.
- A schedule of work tasks in which the apprentices are to receive training and experience.
- Organized instruction designed to provide the apprentice with knowledge of technical subjects related to his trade (a minimum of 144 hours per year).
- A progressively increasing schedule of wages.
- Proper supervision of on-the-job training and adequate facilities to train apprentices.
- Periodic evaluation of the apprentices' progress, both in job performance and related instruction, and the maintenance of appropriate records.

- Employer-employee cooperation.
- Recognition for successful completion.
- Selection of men and women for apprenticeship, without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, or physical handicap.
- Indenturing of successful candidates.[5]

SELECTION PROCEDURES

Entry prerequisites are fairly universal. JACs call for the following requirements and have point systems to select trainees:

- Successful passing of an aptitude exam. These exams vary by crafts and by locals. Some locals use standardized tests such as the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) or the Differential Aptitude Test (DAT). Others have tailor-made tests designed to meet their specifications.
- Submission of personal documents. Documents include birth certificates, high school transcripts, and proof of physical fitness.
- An oral interview conducted by JAC representatives. The purpose of this interview is to determine such factors as the candidate's attitude toward work, his willingness to take supervision, and his full understanding of mutual expectations.

In theory, the number of points a candidate earns, his rank score, and the number of available craft openings determine entry into a program. There are numerous variations, however, on this general theme.

The electrician trade is a good example of one with national and centralized entry requirements and program standards. The National Joint Apprenticeship Training Committee, made up of representatives of the National Electrical Contractors Association (NECA) and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) promotes uniformity for all local apprenticeship programs. Its entry requirements are --

- Age 18 to 24.
- Education-- high school completion with extra points for science and math.
- Physical fitness.
- Submission of personal documents.

- A pass score on an aptitude exam.
- An oral interview.[6]

The ironworkers' union furnishes a contrasting illustration of a union with local, independent programs. This union has broad national standards, but the locals determine their own entry requirements. Local 40[7] in New York City, for example, has the following entry requirements:

- Age 18 to 26.
- Education-- 10th grade (extra points for high school graduation).
- Passing of a physical performance test.
- Passing of an aptitude exam.
- Submission of personal documents.

Local 40 does not require an oral interview, and it is interesting to see why. Mat Steinberg, director of the local's Joint Apprenticeship Committee, says, "Our committee members discovered a few years back that an oral interview didn't mean too much. Some guys with whom they were favorably impressed made it, others didn't.... We decided that we would make our entry requirements as performance-related as possible."

This resulted in the elimination of the oral interview plus the introduction of a specially designed aptitude test battery without a verbal reasoning component. This Joint Apprenticeship Committee found that verbal reasoning had very little to do with successful job performance.[8]

A Columbia University physical education specialist, who spent several days observing the movements of workers, designed a physical performance examination. This examination measures a candidate's power, general strength, and strength in the abdominal and pectoral regions. Another part of the exam measures agility, including climbing and straddling, and how a candidate handles his weight while descending. This part of the exam is given on an athletic field, where candidates are tested on "I" beams whose heights are equivalent to second-story level. The candidate is eliminated automatically if he fails the agility test.

There are many other variations with respect to entrance requirements. One example of differing entry requirements for the same craft in different cities involves carpenters. The carpenters' union in Cleveland requires a high school diploma, while the union in New York City requires ten years of schooling with extra points for a diploma. Many JACs award extra points for other factors such as military service or vocational school training.[9]

Affiliates of the International Union for Operating Engineers also run independent programs. However, they receive technical assistance from the international in the form of workbooks, promotional materials, and planning.[10]

Entrance and program requirements also vary for programs sponsored solely by management. Such programs may not even be registered, since there is no requirement to register any training program, including apprenticeship. Joint programs, however, monitor their programs more closely, since the programs are collectively bargained, with special benefits for each party.

WHO PAYS AND WHAT IT COSTS

Union apprenticeship programs are paid for by employers and union members. Through their collective bargaining agreements with locals, most employers are required to deduct X cents per union man working hour and match this with their own contribution of X cents for the JAC's training fund. A joint contribution of two cents per hour is typical at present. To arrive at a given figure for the amount in a given training fund, the formula would be: number of working members x average hours worked x amount of contribution.[11]

These funds are used to cover the costs of instructors, equipment, supplies, audio-visual materials, workbooks, and everything else required for classwork. The apprentices themselves furnish their own tools and work clothes.

The cost of apprenticeship training will vary between crafts and also between local unions. Variables determining the type and quality of training include --

- The size of the local, which affects the size of the Joint Apprenticeship Committee Training Fund.
- Technical or financial support from the international union.
- The complexity of technology involved with the craft.
- Duration of training.

In 1974, New York City's Ironworkers Local 40 spent $160,000 for 36 apprentices, the same amount spent in 1973 for 94 apprentices.[12] In 1975, the local expected to spend $146,000 for 36 apprentices. The larger the class, the less expensive it is, since most of the dollars involved are for fixed-cost items: instructors, workbooks and materials, administrative overhead. Because its program is "independent," the local does not receive support from its International. The training program is of four years' duration.

The IBEW, which gives strong financial and technical support to its locals, estimates that it will spend $1,022 per apprentice per year from 1975 to 1980. In 1960, the figure was $840 per apprentice. IBEW runs a five-year program in some cities, a four-year program in others.

The difference in per-trainee costs between the two unions is striking and perhaps would merit some further investigation.

FEDERAL SUPPORT

The federal government has assumed a major role in promoting apprenticeship programs. In recent years it has provided funds to increase minority participation as well as money for pilot projects designed to improve or expand apprenticeship training.

In fiscal year 1972, the U.S. Department of Labor spent over $52 million for support of apprenticeship: for apprenticeship and journeyman recruitment programs, Apprenticeship Information Centers (AICs), JOBS, Job Corps, research, and the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training.[14]

Through the U.S. Department of Labor Manpower Administration, the government spent $13 million in 1974 to fund apprenticeship outreach programs. An example of the government's initiative in improving the apprenticeship system is its funding of the Dual Enrollment Program of the International Union of Operating Engineers. This pilot project, funded through the Department of Labor's Office of Research and Development, is designed to increase the apprentices' chances of promotion within the industry and to provide them with an associate of science degree, which would be applicable to a higher degree if they should wish to change careers.

THE VALUE OF APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Why is apprenticeship training valuable? On whom does it confer benefits? To begin with, the unions themselves have vested economic interest in apprenticeship training.

As Dr. F. Ray Marshall points out:

> Unions use apprenticeship as a means of job and wage control of apprenticeship. Unions are able to standardize skill content of their crafts and protect their wage rates. Union craftsmen can maintain their wages only if they have lower unit costs than the alternatives available to an employer. Apprenticeship . . . also strengthens the craft unions as an institution and makes it possible for the union to supply competent workers to maintain its jursidiction. If the union acquires many unqualified or incompetent workers, the employer has a strong incentive to mechanize, become non-union, or look elsewhere for his workers.[15]

Because apprenticeship as an entry route to the industry produces the most highly skilled manpower, employers too have a vested interest in the system. More often than not, employers have themselves been tradesmen and have undergone apprenticeship.

For economic reasons, union contractors also value program registration by BAT. The Davis-Bacon Act establishes that prevailing wages be paid on construction projects but allows apprentices to be paid considerably less than journeymen. In the event a program loses its registration, apprentices must be paid the same wages as journeymen.[16] Obviously, there are formulas regulating the number of apprentices on a job. A rough rule is one apprentice for every four journeymen.

How beneficial is apprenticeship training to its participants? It is clearly valuable in terms of potential earnings. First-year apprentices earn 40 to 45 percent of journeymen wages with increments every six months. As of January 1, 1975, in New York City, where journeymen sheetmetal workers earn $11.67 per hour, the union's first-year apprentices began at $4.67 per hour, or twice the federal minimum wage.

Among the findings revealed in a study of apprenticeship by the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas at Austin were these: Apprenticeship graduates generally were afforded more steady employment and, consequently, greater earnings than were other journeymen. In addition, apprenticeship graduates tended to advance to supervisory positions more rapidly and more often than did journeymen who enter the industry by other routes.[17]

Since foremen and supervisors must know the work that they oversee, well-rounded, broadly trained workers will, in all likelihood, become foremen and superintendents before those persons who are narrowly trained specialists. During the course of study, the University of Texas interviewers not only talked with journeymen and union officers but also with employers. In a comparison of 28 contractors, in 18 cases, graduates of apprenticeship programs were more heavily represented in supervisory capacities. The reverse was true in only two cases.[18]

Several other studies have validated the conclusions that apprenticeship is one of the most effective systems for bringing competent workers into the industry and that the skilled trades will increasingly rely more heavily on the system.[19]

Supporters of apprenticeship training also argue that the public benefits from the system. Although there are no comprehensive data comparing the costs of apprenticeship assumed by the public with other methods of skills acquisition, they are firm in their belief that apprenticeship training programs are cheaper than others.

In 1963, Charles Hanna, head of California's Division of Apprenticeship Standards, estimated that in California, the public cost of training an apprentice was $130, as compared with $1,900 a year for Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) training in one California program.[20]

APPRENTICESHIP CHARACTERISTICS

There are no recent comprehensive data available on the characteristics of individual registered apprentices. The Recruitment-Training-Program (R-T-P) (which the author directs) maintains a data bank from which characteristics of more than 15,000 minority applicants to R-T-P are compiled. A comprehensive study based on these data is under way and should be released around mid 1976.

The following charts (Figures 1-4), however, represent sample data concerning apprentices placed by the Brooklyn R-T-P office during program fiscal years (September-August) 1968-69, 1971-72, and 1974-75. These data were compiled from 137 apprentice placements for electricians, 83 for plumbers, and 58 for sheetmetal workers--a total of 278.

Since the study is currently in progress and the data analysis has not been completed, generalizations are not yet possible. The data are simply provided to show characteristics that may be typical of R-T-P minority apprentice placements.

An initial review of the sample data reveals information that is generally considered typical of construction apprentices: high school graduate (82 percent); apprentices between the ages of 22 and 28 (66 percent). The average age of this sample group was 23.1 years.

By breaking the data down into each program fiscal year, R-T-P analysts found some interesting phenomena. The proportions of the various ethnic groups remained stable from year to year, as did the age ranges (with the exception of 1974, when there were no 18-year-olds and only 10 percent of placements were aged between 19 and 21). When educational levels were taken into consideration, however, it was found that (1) of 67 apprentices placed in 1968, 85 percent were high school graduates, 9 percent attended grades 10-12, and 3 placements (4 percent) had at least 1 year of college; while (2) in 1974, of 62 apprentices, only 1 placement had less than a high school diploma, while one other had completed 1 year of college. In 1971, a good employment year, 112 out of 149 placements (75 percent) were high school graduates, while 21 others (14 percent) had completed at least 1 year of college, with 6 having completed 2 years. Another tabulation revealed that of the 25 placements who completed at least 1 year of college, 18 (72 percent) were placed as electricians, an elite trade, during 1971-72. Three were placed as sheetmetal workers in both 1968 and 1971.

Data on military status revealed a high of 31 percent veterans in 1968 (15 percent in 1971) moving to a low of 8 percent in 1974.

An examination of the age ranges of the placements in terms of specific crafts shows that the electricians were the youngest, with an average age of 22.6 years, reflecting their entry requirements. The plumbers averaged 23.0 years of age and the sheetmetal workers averaged 24.0. Incidentally, of the 58 sheetmetal workers, only 12 were under 22 years old, and in 1974 none of the placements were under 23 years of age.

In analyzing each fiscal year in terms of age, we found that the average age of the placements was as follows: 1968-69--22.2 years; 1971-72--22.9 years; and 1974-75--a high of 24.3 years. In both 1968 and 1971, the placements were distributed as approximately 40 percent being under 22 years and 60 percent being 22 or over. In 1974, however, 56 placements (90 percent) were older than 22 years, with only 6 being younger.

Fig. 1 CHARACTERISTICS OF APPRENTICE PLACEMENTS
R-T-P BROOKLYN FIELD OFFICE
(278 Apprentices)[a]

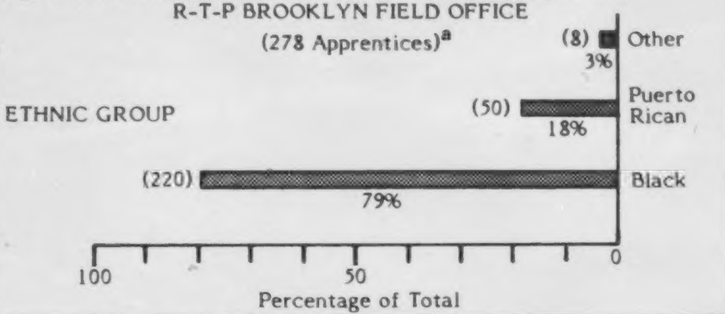
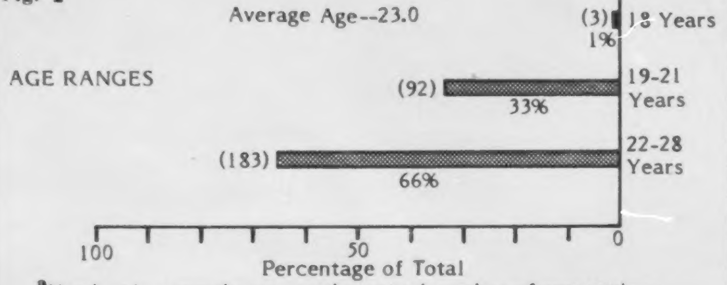


Fig. 2

Average Age--23.0



[a] Number in parentheses are the actual number of apprentices.

Fig. 3 CHARACTERISTICS OF APPRENTICE PLACEMENTS
R-T-P BROOKLYN FIELD OFFICE
(278 Apprentices)[a]

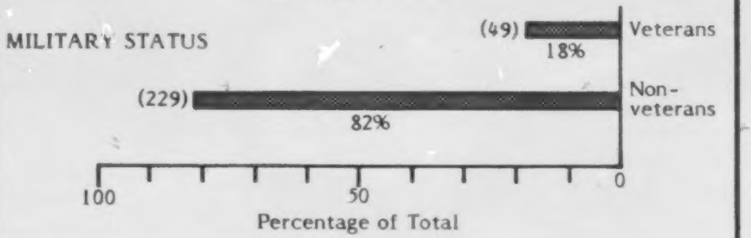
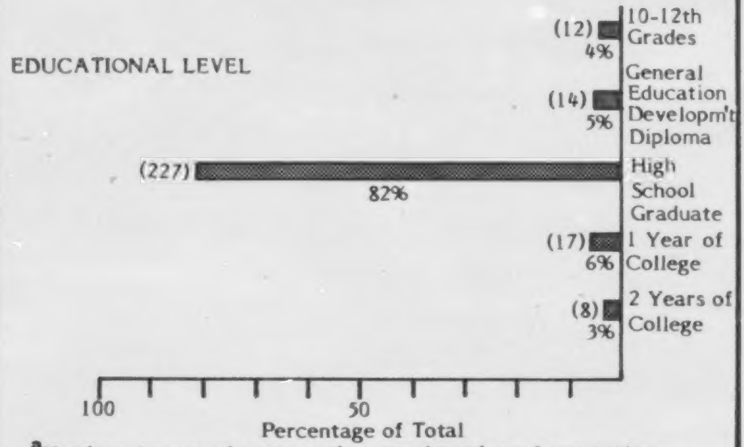


Fig. 4



[a] Numbers in parentheses are the actual number of apprentices.

The data show us several things to note in considering outreach programs and apprenticeship. The programs to find people for entry are only as good as the system is perceived to be in providing jobs. No one denies that construction jobs are seen as genuinely good-paying and challenging jobs. Part of this realization is to accept whatever goes with apprenticeship in order to be an insider in this complex industry. The characteristics of enrollees--relatively high educational level and relatively advanced age--show that trainee selection has resulted from an expansion of the pool of qualified applicants. In other words, the typical trainee may have minor (or minority) difficulties but is a highly employable individual with both high and practical aspirations. The apprenticeship program seems to have always dealt well with this kind of individual, perhaps better than has the formal postsecondary school.

One final note is necessary on the relationship of apprenticeship to total journeymen in a craft. Although a majority of journeymen in the building trades may have had apprenticeship training, only a small minority have completed their training. A few have never had any such training. How this happens is complex--workers get union cards in various ways, but it is not a corrupt system in itself. Within each trade are craftsmen who have a "part" of the trade, that is, who can work at some aspect. There are also safety valve mechanisms that allow for expansion of employment, such as temporary permits and travelers' cards. To have a union card is not necessarily to be a fully qualified craftsman, and to find less than fully qualified craftsmen on a job is not to discount the skill or the training system underpinning that skill.

TRADITIONAL OBSTACLES TO MINORITY PENETRATION

For a person to fully gain a sense of appreciation for the significant increase there has been in minority participation in the apprenticeable trades, there should be some appreciation of the historic and contemporary institutional forces working against this end.

When slaves were brought to this country, economic competition developed between slaves and poor whites. Under slavery, blacks entered the skilled trades in large numbers as blacksmiths, coopers, stone and cement masons, and others. This cheap labor put whites at an economic disadvantage, but they were impotent in overturning a system maintained by the powerful slaveowners.

Once the slaves were freed, however, blacks were able to maintain high representation only in those crafts that could be performed in their own communities or where their numbers were large--for example, in the trowel trades.[21]

Between the Civil War and World War II, a wave of European skilled immigrants settled in the northeast part of the United States. The trades that they brought with them or that emerged during the Industrial Revolution included ironworking, plumbing, and sheetmetal work. These trades were not only practiced and organized along racial lines, but along ethnic lines as well. Ironworkers, for example, were initially from Newfoundland or the Scandinavian countries, where there were seafaring traditions.[22] Training in these new crafts was extended to those connected personally to the group practicing the trade.

Craft membership was also sensitive to the craft's view of the future. Today the union's desire for control of apprenticeship and other routes of entry is motivated by a need to counteract the employment insecurity inherent in the industry. Construction, was and is subject to extreme variability in employment demand.

Although projections of growth and decline on a national basis are published with regularity, accurate craft-by-craft employment forecasting is inherently difficult.[23] The fluctuating manpower demands, compounded by the seasonality of some trades, creates a pattern of manpower shortages follow by widespread idleness.

As John T. Dunlop and D. Quinn Mills explain:

> There are few job guarantees in construction. In most cases, employees circulate among contractors, working out the job, then another. Similarly, there are few contractual provisions (such as seniority) which might protect experienced workers against lay-offs or place them first in line for hiring. The seasonal swings of building activity affects any trade, threatening long periods of unemployment in winter months. . . .Further, demand for manpower fluctuates not only with the seasons but with variations in the level, composition and geographic distribution of construction activity. The typical pattern of the industry is boom and bust, with flexibility in operations, a necessary element of survival for employers.

In *The Negro and Apprenticeship*,[24] Dr. F. Ray Marshall points out:

> While discrimination undoubtedly is responsible for the absence of Negroes from many construction apprenticeship programs, the union's motives are based on nonracial factors . . . these unions attempt to control the supply of labor in order to maintain their wage rates. The construction industry is plagued by a sense of job insecurity stemming from rates of unemployment which are consistently much higher than the average rates . . . most skilled construction unions attempt to control the supply of labor through a variety of means. Some of them operate hiring halls, most of them refuse to work with nonunion workers and most of them control entry into their apprenticeship programs.

Discrimination has become an increasingly risky business since the late sixties, when most states and cities patterned legislation after Executive Order 11246, which required minority participation in government construction projects.

More direct circumstances inhibiting minority participation include a lack of awareness of apprenticeship training opportunities, inadequate academic training that thwarts successful scoring on aptitude exams, and the promotion of college training as the sole source of economic and social mobility for minorities. Consequently, until recently, few black youths gained entrance into most apprenticeship programs. Most, probably, did not even know how to apply. Only through civil rights activity in the 1960s did minorities become aware of this occupational opportunity.

MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN THE BUILDING TRADES

In *Training and Entry into Union Construction*,[25] a study conducted by Dr. F. Ray Marshall and others, it is reported that minorities comprised 14 percent of surveyed journeymen who entered unions between 1960 and 1970. This proportion, however, needs further examination. Trade by trade analysis is imperative.

There are instances where general minority participation was consistent with the minority population in certain trades. In the summer of 1969, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) surveyed a five-county area in Philadelphia and found a minority participation rate of 30 percent. There were six trades, however, with no minority participation. In Washington, D.C., the OFCC found that minorities made up 26 percent of the general work force. They made up 50 percent of the construction work force in the Washington Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), yet the average minority representation in the five mechanical, or "elite," crafts was only 3.3 percent. This situation is probably typical in most large cities.

There are some encouraging signs, however, that minority participation is increasing. Although comprehensive data are not available for the total number of minorities working in the trades, the total number registered in apprenticeship programs is a solid indicator of the trend. BAT reported in March 1975 that 16.5 percent of new federally registered apprentices were minorities.[26]

The role of the federal government in implementing Executive Order 11246 and, concurrently, suits and actions taken against discrimination through Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was probably instrumental in the increase of participation. So also were the class action and individual suits brought against individual unions.

Although data on the effectiveness of the apprenticeship outreach program have yet to be gathered, the jump in minority participation from 6 percent in 1968 to 14.2 percent in December 1972 is generally attributed to the apprenticeship outreach program established by the Workers Defense League (WDL) in 1964. Renamed the Recruitment and Training Program in 1972, the apprenticeship outreach movement began in New York City in 1963 after a series of violent demonstrations took place on and around city construction sites. The object of these demonstrations was to close publicly funded sites to protest the absence of blacks and Puerto Ricans. These work stoppages were costly. For instance, the Harlem Hospital Project shut down for more than four months and cost New York City a quarter of a million dollars for overtime payments for police alone.

The Workers Defense League joined, with community and civil rights groups, a federation called the Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity. WDL, along with other members of this federation, believed (1) if enough pressure was brought to bear on the industry, demands that 25 percent of the jobs be given to blacks and Puerto Ricans would be granted, and (2) it would be relatively easy to find qualified community residents to fill the jobs. It soon became apparent, however, that work was needed to locate applicants who were interested in construction work.

Because information on apprenticeship was virtually inaccessible, WDL undertook the task of consolidating what was available in the handbook *Apprenticeship Training in New York*, which it circulated to other federation members, community agencies, and civil rights groups concerned with minority youth employment.

When subsequent announcements of craft openings finally were circulated throughout the minority community, there was virtually no response. What the WDL soon learned was that since minorities had traditionally been excluded from the industry, the trades were not viewed as a credible source of employment. Moreover, prospects who did have an interest in the trades were often reluctant to make applications, fearing hostility, rejection, or both.

In 1964, with a $34,000 grant from the Taconic Foundation, WDL opened a storefront office in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, where the first outreach effort began. The first premise of the outreach concept is that the recruitment machinery should be based in a location easily accessible to the target population; next, that the people heading the recruitment effort should have personal and social characteristics similar to those of the target population.

Central to the outreach strategy is the formation of an organization limited in staff and scope to provide a link between the minority community and employers. On one hand, it is the organization's function to gain the confidence of industry decision-makers and to become recognized as a source of highly qualified and reliable personnel. The organization presents itself as being both sensitive to the requirements of employers yet firm in its commitment to obtain access to the best jobs for members of the minority community. On the other hand, the organization also establishes itself as an institution serving the minority community, seeking and preparing qualified applicants and engaging in educational efforts to inform minorities of new career possibilities.

What distinguishes the outreach program from other employment or job-matching agencies is that it undertakes an important intermediary function: to reconcile the supply characteristics of its applicants with the qualities demanded by employers. This activity consists principally of preparing minority applicants to pass the screening procedures of the targeted firms, which may be formal or informal.

After the first few efforts of recruitment and referral, it was obvious that applicants needed some coaching on what to expect when they applied for training, as well as some familiarity with the aptitude exams given and what would be expected of them. It was further learned that even after applicants were placed in apprenticeship programs, a follow-up mechanism was needed to offer support services such as counseling and the resolution of on- and off-the-job problems that hindered adjustment and work performance.

Within the first two years, WDL placed more than 105 blacks and Hispanics in the industry. In 1966, the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund joined WDL as cosponsor, and the project was called the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League/A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Because of the success of the program in New York City and the failure of approaches tried elsewhere, the Department of Labor adopted the concept, funded that Joint Apprenticeship Program, and used it as a prototype in encouraging other national and local organizations to operate apprenticeship outreach programs. Today, the recruiting and placing of minorities is carried out by the National Urban League; the Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI) of the AFL-CIO; local independent operations, such as PREP-JET in Cincinnati and the Mexican-American Opportunities Foundation in Los Angeles; the Trade Union Leadership Council; and, indeed, local unions and building trades councils themselves. The outreach movement is credited with bringing more than 40,000 persons[27] to the industry. The outreach mechanism has also been used to expand minority participation in other ways. In 1970, the AFL-CIO sponsored a journeymen feasibility study to determine the outreach program's adaptability in locating and recruiting minorities with trade experience who were excluded from union membership. Later, the outreach programs were used to locate and recruit "trainees," a new classification under the hometown plan concept, which includes people with some experience or no experience who do not meet normal apprenticeship training requirements--for example, those involving age or education.

Thus, the outreach program has not only successfully secured applicants for apprenticeship training programs, but has proven its flexibility and adaptability for developing other untapped resources that potentially increase minority representation in the industry.

R-T-P and other such groups that have followed have not only proven the worth of the outreach concept in construction, but have demonstrated a flexibility that has produced measurable results in nonconstruction situations.

The *tutorial* component has proved adaptable to other sectors such as the civil service, where English has been taught as a second language. Currently, R-T-P holds a subcontract with the International Association of Firefighters (IAFF) to train IAFF staff to locate and tutor minorities for civil service exams. Further, R-T-P's outreach techniques have been utilized in other areas of employment such as the steel industry, shipbuilding, and the auto industry and in technical positions at high technology firms such as IBM, RCA, and Xerox.

WOMEN IN APPRENTICESHIP

Several outreach offices are recruiting women both for skilled trades and for nontraditional jobs. In R-T-P's Pascagoula, Mississippi office, for example, located at the site of the Litton-Ingalls Shipyards, 15 percent of all placements are women.

With the major recruitment mandated and initiated by the Department of Labor in 1973, R-T-P and other sponsors of the apprenticeship outreach program began special recruitment drives for women. R-T-P's target cities are Boston, Cleveland, and New York. Under this new campaign, R-T-P has been successful in recruiting 107 women for skilled industrial and construction trades.

Through the combined efforts of the outreach programs (R-T-P, the National Urban League, and the Mexican-American Opportunities Foundation), Better Jobs for Women, in Denver, and Women in Apprenticeship, sponsored by Advocates for Women in San Francisco, the number of women in skilled trades has doubled since 1970.

In 1960, nine skilled trades reported no working women at all; by 1970, the situation as reported by BAT had changed considerably. Ten of the fourteen skilled trades with big increases showed at least 5,000 women in nontraditional jobs such as automobile mechanic, dental technician, heavy equipment mechanic, printing press operator, and telephone installation and repair worker. However, the bulk remain in traditional apprenticeship training, for example, cosmetology.

Today, BAT reports that there are 1,379 women apprentices currently enrolled in registered programs.[28]

One of the most significant contributions of the outreach program is its ability to overcome what were normally considered sociocultural deficiencies of minorities. A good example is the case of the aptitude exam. As indicated in an earlier section, poor academic training had traditionally precluded passing these exams with a competitive grade.

According to John C. Swann, Jr., R-T-P's Director of Planning:

> Good tutoring methodology can compensate for deficiencies. We never tried to make up for the failures of the public schools. We based our whole tutoring program on the assumption that our recruits weren't good readers, but had other academic skills that could be sharpened and supplemented with methods and techniques that we have developed. What we have done is teach principles so that a candidate is trained to look at a problem and know how to proceed to solve it without thoroughly understanding the written directions which can confuse him.

Apprenticeship coordinators for Local 3 of the Electrical Workers and Local 638 of the Steamfitters Union have verified that R-T-P applicants score higher on aptitude exams than applicants recruited from other sources. This is significant in the case of Local 3, since about one-third of applicants for openings in the union's last recruitment campaign had some college education.

R-T-P is experiencing a new competitive phenomenon as it serves a highly educated white applicant attracted to the trades. This applicant, motivated perhaps by new values from the counter-culture and youth movements, is moving away from what he considers meaningless, unfulfilling, pencil-pushing work to the more independent, gratifying, and "real" life-style that construction work represents. We also have evidence that many minority youth are moving in the same direction and for the same reasons.

"The truth of the matter" says John C. Swann, Jr., "is that although this new breed is better educated, they still need coaching, particularly in mechanical reasoning and spatial relations, if they are to compete with our applicants." He concedes, however, that this "new breed" of applicant is verbally articulate and thus at an advantage in the oral interview.

The new breed of applicant may have a college background that does not include more than one basic freshman course in math. After four years of neglecting math skills, he may need a refresher course to compete with a typical minority applicant who is recently out of high school, with good math skills, and who has gone through the tutorial program. On the other hand, the new breed of applicant may come out of a scientific, technological background, such as engineering or physics, and will score well in all phases of the testing process.

The construction industry, traditionally a bellwether indicator of the health of the economy, has suffered a national unemployment rate of more than 30 percent as of July 1974. Traditionally, the rate is double the national rate. Most crafts, however, are experiencing higher unemployment rates. The operating engineers, for example, suffer a national average of 48 percent. This current recessive economy has served to obviate some of the gains achieved and in some instances has fortified traditional patterns of resistance and insecurity.

Despite the economic downturn, R-T-P has managed to place 1 in 10 applicants. In previous years the figure was 1 in 5, a ratio neither good nor bad but used for a time period comparison. These figures not only reflect the shortage of jobs in the industry but also the fact that twice as many minority persons are now seeking apprenticeship opportunities as before--an indirect proof of how well outreach programs have done.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING THE SYSTEM

In a 1972 report, *Innovations in Apprenticeship,* the author, Dr. Gerald Somers, stated that in the United States and Europe the apprenticeship training mechanism is in transition. He cites a survey completed at Purdue University that validates growing dissatisfaction with many aspects of the system on the part of union officials, vocational educators, and other members of the apprenticeship establishment.[29] Somers confirmed that this same dissatisfaction exists in Western Europe. He isolated the most critical issues surrounding institutional unrest as being methods of funding, lack of quality control, and inflexibility.

Somers proposed that the federal government set up demonstration/research centers to develop pilot programs designed to broaden the base of the system and to experiment with innovations currently expanding in Europe. Specifically, these innovations include--

- Developing new methods of funding apprenticeship programs and other skills training, with costs shared by the unions, employers, the federal government, and the apprentices themselves.

- Exploring the modular, or block, system of training, which could allow more flexibility for apprentices to work at their own pace. Some may require the normal four years; others may be able to complete training in less time.

- Integrating apprenticeship training with other forms of training for youth and adults.

Somers sees the demonstration/research centers as one approach to changing this long-standing institution. They are a better alternative than a frontal attack, since demonstrated benefits can be more persuasive to those of the establishment who would be resistant to change. The political nature of apprenticeship ought not to be underestimated. Apprenticeship has a staunchly loyal and influential clientele.

A center can accomplish demonstration objectives more effectively, Somers feels, than the present programs and projects, for the following reasons:

- The presently existing centers do not permit a wide range of experimentation or demonstration. The union-management personnel who now run such centers would probably construe the introduction of a broader range of projects in their centers as an interference with the designated purposes.

- European innovations should be tried in a U.S. context.

The current departures from apprenticeship norms in the United States are too scattered to serve as an effective base for the establishment.

- A demonstration center under federal auspices would insure the availability of data and the cooperation necessary for a careful evaluation of the projects carried out at the center.

Other supporters of the apprenticeship system argue that one way to improve the base of the apprenticeship system is to provide more incentive to industrial employers to use the system. Training and wage costs are already deductible expenses. Some version of apprentice wage differentials might be possible. Currently we have the case where employers in small establishments feel bypassed in operating programs because of the current funding apparatus, while larger establishments are reluctant to train workers for fear that their investments will be lost when the trained workers move to another employer. Among the proposed solutions to this problem is offering employers incentives in the form of subsidies and rebates, which is especially important during the first two years, when an apprentice's skills are marginal and his productivity is not as valuable to the employer.

A second solution to interesting small and large employers in operating apprenticeship training programs is having them pool financial resources on a cooperative basis, contributing to a fund as employers do in the construction industry. This latter solution is a prospective project for Somers's enlarging opportunities for minorities and women proposed demonstration centers.

ENLARGING OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES AND WOMEN

The Bureau of Labor Statistics predicted five years ago that 8 out of 10 new jobs created would not require a college degree, but because social values have dictated a college-or-nothing policy, minorities and women have not heeded this prediction in career choices.

Several manpower experts have predicted that the very survival of inner cities rests with training and upgrading their minority populations. Dr. Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University predicts that by 1980, one of every two young workers in New York City will be black or Puerto Rican.[30]

A regional census survey undertaken in 1971 indicated that half of the unemployed people in New York City were prevented from finding a job because of lack of experience or training. The tragedy of this situation is that thousands of jobs go begging. Reporter Christopher Wren of the *New York Times* revealed in his article "Skilled Minorities Called City's Hope for Future" that there were pockets of jobs that go unfilled because people lack the necessary qualifications and employers are reluctant to train them. Some of the examples of shortages that he cited were in jobs for tractor-trailer drivers with dock experience, skilled house painters, color television service people, and auto mechanics with tools and driver's licenses.

Apprenticeship training can potentially bridge the gap between the unemployed, the potentially unemployed, (particularly minorities, women, and youth) and available jobs.

In addition to the benefits that the system offers to the industry and its graduates, apprenticeship training is a sound investment decision. In a study conducted in Wisconsin by Thomas Barocci, the return on the investment in apprenticeship was found to be greater than that for all other noncollege training. The study found that even when apprentices drop out of their training programs, they have sufficient skills to earn more in their fields and related fields than do all other preparatory facility dropouts, including college dropouts. In fact, construction apprentices who drop out of training earn 70 to 80 percent as much as those who complete training. Industrial apprentices and those in the graphic arts earn 90 percent as much as those who complete training. In addition, most apprentices who become journeyman are union members, and statistics show that union members earn more money than workers in the unorganized sector.

Employers, large and small, should be encouraged to consider apprenticeship training programs. Even before the recessive economy surfaced, employers were reluctant to train workers, first, because the employers felt that they could not afford to teach necessary skills, and second, because they feared that after a worker had been trained, he might find a new employer, thus robbing his original employer of an investment in money and time.[31]

One solution might be to formulate a model based on the Davis-Bacon wage scale for medium and large industries as an incentive to hire and train apprentices.

Another solution might be the development of industry-wide or cooperative apprenticeship programs in which several employers contribute to a given program.

It is to be hoped that the demonstration centers that Somers proposes can be used to develop experimental apprenticeship training programs with employers. If such programs are successful, they can serve as incentive models to attract more widespread use of the system.

The vocational school has a very natural and creative role in producing the technicians presently in demand. Although we are still plagued by the old stereotype of the vocational school as a dumping ground for minorities, dullards, and those who are not college material, a renewed emphasis on career education is making both educators and manpower specialists (and parents too) take a second look at the vocational school.

Peter Jansen, education editor for *Time* Magazine recently reported in a *New York Times* Sunday Magazine article, "Let's Hear It for Aviation High," that one reason for the revival of support for vocational training is the high cost of a college education and the shrinking value of the college degree. Four years at a public college costs around $11,000, and more than $25,000 at a private college. The article states: "In 1969, men over 25 with a college degree earned 53% more than men with a high school diploma; by 1973, they earned only 40% more, and Harvard economist Richard B. Freeman predicts that by 1979, they will earn just 30% more."

Aviation High School in New York City, one of the best schools for vocational education, is one of a half dozen schools in the country that prepare people for careers in the aerospace industry. Notably successful, it has received 4,700 applications for 1,200 openings from seventh and ninth graders and more job orders for its graduates than it could fill. The apparent reasons for Aviation's success, which could serve as a prototype for updating existing vocational high schools, are--

- A highly developed system of recruiting and admission and student motivation. The school conducts an extensive public information campaign that includes brochures, flyers, speakers, and open houses. Applicants are screened, much like JAC screening, via an oral interview that seeks to uncover the applicant's willingness, motivation, and desire to learn. The school does not accept applicants who are more than two years behind in reading, and is more concerned with characteristics such as accuracy, workmanship, and punctuality than with academic brilliance.

- A highly technical job training program, with curriculum input from educators and the industry's management and labor.

- A solid college-bound curriculum. Students can take technical courses that lead to both a diploma and a certificate of competency from the Federal Aviation Administration as air frame or power-plant mechanics. Senior year students can elect the school's advanced placement course, which offers physics, avionics (electronic instruments), and calculus.

Although teachers and guidance counselors everywhere have career education and guidance responsibilities, most know little about vocational and technical trades. Even formal career education sessions or courses are likely to be limited to meaningless descriptions of occupations, with no information on academic or course preparation. Students may learn what aptitude tests are, their names, and what they measure, but they are not given the means to pass them.

To partially remedy this situation, teachers and guidance counselors should have ongoing dialogue and even some controlled work experience with employers, so that they are better able to prepare their students for the world of work. This would serve to help them keep in touch with the working world, as well as to see how theory becomes application. Ideally, there should be formal arrangements made whereby teachers receive academic credit for working or taking sabbaticals in private industry.

The construction industry and others utilizing the apprenticeship system should push to develop more extensive information campaigns, particularly in the minority community, where blue collar work has been, in modern times, associated with dirty hands and low pay.

One reason that minorities and women have not been attracted to the crafts is that they have never seen or known people who were technicians. They should be exposed to career models and alternatives at an early age through books, films, educational television, and other media.

The federal government can further support apprenticeship and technical training by reversing its current education spending priorities. Although the U.S. Department of Labor has reported that by 1975, 8 out of 10 new job openings would be for noncollege-trained people, 80 percent of the federal education budget goes for the 20 percent of our population in colleges and universities.

Expanded apprenticeship opportunities are neither a panacea for the unemployment problems of minorities, women, and youth nor a substitute for sound economic policy, of which human resources development is just a part, but a creative, viable institution that comes closer to meeting both individual and job market needs than does any other alternative. Further, because it is a gradual work/training process, the apprenticeship system comes closest to facilitating the transition from school to work.

As for outreach programs, they are transferrable from a craft setting such as construction to other sectors. Where specific employment barriers exist, outreach is the means for understanding them, for eliminating some (such as discrimination), for modifying others (such as irrelevant testing), and for "prepping" when the job-seeker needs to overcome a handicap. R-T-P continually emphasizes competitive behavior, that no one limps into a job or is "carried," once on the job.

Outreach also assumes a keen sense of existing job demand, that employers are cultivated as they are exploited for jobs. The full range of potential job sources is yet to be determined. Some industrial systems offer training as a function of seniority. Inserting a new hire into a training status would create an industrial relations problem. The irony is that unions in such situations usually have no role in training and often have clean records on discrimination but would have to enforce a "closed" system.

Nevertheless, outreach is an effective labor market device, acting on inefficiencies in the job search and hiring process. It is not an alternative to a good educational system or a just and rational labor market, but it helps to remedy many of their deficiencies and is probably cheap as the price of doing so.

NOTES

1. U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, *Report of Task Force on New Initiatives in Apprenticeship* (Washington, D.C., July 1973).

2. There is no information available on the number and characteristics of non-registered programs. However, there is a general consensus among BAT officials that in all probability, there may be at least as many as 25 registered programs.

3. U.S. Department of Labor,Manpower Administration, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, *Apprenticeship Handbook*.

4. The FCA, inoperative from 1970-1973, was reactivated in 1974.

5. F. Ray Marshall, Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., *The Negro and Apprenticeship* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967), p. 12.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 14 and Dave Smith, Apprenticeship Coordinator, IBEW Local 3, private interview, New York, December 1975.

7. Local 40 whose jurisdictions covers Manhattan and the Bronx administers training jointly with Local 361 whose jurisdiction covers Brooklyn and Queens.

8. Matt Steinberg, Director, Joint Apprenticeship Committee, Locals 40 and 361 International Association of Structural and Ornamental Ironworkers, private interview, New York, December 1975.

9. Marshall and Briggs, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

10. Reese Hammond, Director, Research and Training, International Union of Operating Engineers, private interview, Washington, D.C., December 1975. Donald Roffle, Director of Operations, R-T-P, Inc., private interview, New York, December 1975.

11. *Ibid.*, (Hammond).

12. Steinberg, *op. cit.*

13. Steinberg, *op. cit.*

14. U.S. Department of Labor Manpower Administration, *Report of Task Force, op. cit.*, p. 6.

15. Marshall and Briggs, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

17. F. Ray Marshall, William S. Franklin, and Robert Glover *Training and Entry into Union Construction* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).

18. *Ibid.*

19. For discussions on the value of apprenticeship training and the system as a source for managers see *Manpower Development and Utilization in the Construction Industry* by John T. Dunlop and D. Quinn Mills, U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration (Washington, D.C., 1971).

20. Marshall and Briggs, Jr., *op. cit.* p. 25

21. Sterling D. Spiro & Abron L. Harris, *The Black Worker; The Negro and The Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University, 1931).

22. Steinberg, *op cit.*

23. Dunlop and Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

24. Marshall and Briggs, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 35.

25. Dunlop & Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

26. U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, *1974 Report of the Administrator* (Washington, D.C., 1975).

27. To arrive at this estimate, we reviewed several sources: BAT's "Apprenticeship Registration Action," 1967-72, "Apprenticeship Account Status Report," 1970-72, and its "Outreach Program Activity Summary Chart."

28. U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, BAT, *1974 Report of the Administrator . op. cit.*,

29. Gerald Sommers *Innovations In Apprenticeship, The Feasibility of Establishing Demonstrations Centers for Apprenticeship and Other Industrial Training* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1972).

30. Christopher Wren, "Skilled Minorities Called City's Hope for Future," *New York Times*, February 27, 1973.

31. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 10

PROBLEMS OF RURAL YOUTH

Ray Marshall

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines some problems of rural youth, with emphasis on the transition from school to work. Since the problems of young people in rural areas are shaped by the environments in which they live, the paper also discusses some major rural conditions influencing the development of rural youth.

In order to help those who are unfamiliar with rural conditions to see the problem in context before the specific detailed analysis is undertaken, the first part summarizes some of the main conclusions about the problems of rural youth.

The second part examines the problems of rural youth in more detail. This part defines "rural," discusses some unique characteristics of rural areas that must be considered in public policies, and some of the major factors influencing the personal development of rural youth; and concludes with policy recommendations.

OVERVIEW

Importance of Rural Development

Rural development is a national and not merely a rural problem because (1) a disproportionate share of the nation's poverty is concentrated in rural areas, and (2) rural problems are transmitted to urban areas through the rural-to-urban migration of people, especially the young, who are not prepared by education or experience for nonfarm jobs or urban living.

Rural development also has important implications for freedom of residential choice by rural and urban people. Economic necessity forces many people into large metropolitan places (where it is estimated that two-thirds of the nation's population will be concentrated by the year 2000), even though there is consistent evidence that most rural and urban people would prefer to live in rural areas and small towns.

Positive public policies are required because market forces will not solve the problem of rural-urban balance. Indeed, unrestrained market forces are largely responsible for both the decline of rural areas and the growth of large metropolitan places. People leave rural areas because there are no jobs there, but their concentration in large urban places for economic reasons has serious social, environmental, and political consequences.

Those of us who advocate greater attention to rural problems do not do so out of rural romanticism or a desire to "keep people down on the farm." We wish, rather, to relieve some of the pressures on rural and urban places and to increase the options for people to live where they wish.

Of course, it will not be feasible to extend all of the amenities of urban life to very remote rural places, nor is it feasible to develop all rural areas. It is, however, both feasible and good national policy to develop more rural places and provide greater access to cultural amenities and social services to more rural people.

Special Problems of Rural Youth

The remainder of this paper will document and elaborate the problems of rural youth, but an overview at this point will put the problem in perspective:

- A major problem for rural youth is *economic and cultural isolation* that limits personal development. Isolation is most severe for minorities who are heavily concentrated in rural areas, especially in the South and West.

- Minorities have been isolated partly because of the disseminated nature of rural populations but also because of institutional and overt discrimination. Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Indians have been particularly disadvantaged. All of these groups have heritages that the dominant white society has considered "inferior." Whites have, therefore, required minorities to surrender deeply held values as a price of admission to the mainsteam.

- Poverty exerts multiple and cumulative debilitating influences on the development of rural youths. Low-income people often have poor images of themselves because they are made to feel that poverty is due mainly to personal failures. The poor also suffer from inadequate housing, sanitation, health care, education, recreational, and cultural services.

- Formal and informal and training education services are not as available to rural as to urban youths. The education system, like most other systems in the United States, has a strong urban bias.

For several reasons, the education system is viewed negatively by many rural people. Many parents, especially Indians, Chicanos, blacks, and poor whites, have negative attitudes because the education system inculcates values that conflict with traditional beliefs. Many wealthier rural people have given limited support to rural education because they did not want to pay for it and because many agribusiness leaders thought education would increase the options available to their workers, making it difficult to get their crops harvested. Because of heavy outmigration, rural people generally are reluctant to pay for the education of youths who make their productive contributions elsewhere.

In addition to the handicaps of underfunding and an urban middle-class orientation, rural educational institutions provide limited choices of subjects for rural youths. Rural school consolidations have enlarged occupational choices, but have created other problems. Consolidation destroys the sense of community based on the local school and requires additional expenditures of funds for teachers and transportation. There are some economies of size in rural schools, but these are offset by higher costs, causing the net gains to be very limited. There is no persuasive evidence that consolidated rural schools improve the intellectual capacities of rural youths. This conclusion is born out by the educational deficiencies documented in the second part of this paper.

- The rural economic base creates a number of problems for rural youths. Occupational choices for young people in rural areas are limited because most economic enterprises are marginal, low-wage operations with a limited range of occupations. Rural youths, therefore, have few role models for a wide range of higher-paying occupations. Furthermore, limited economic opportunities provide inadequate facilities for on-the-job training and tend to perpetuate low incomes for rural people. These labor market inadequacies have not been offset by vocational schools, except in a few cases where states have established good technical institutes because vocational curricula remain heavily concentrated in vocational agriculture (despite diminishing employment opportunities in this area) and homemaking (which is valuable but does very little to prepare rural youths for jobs).

- Some, perhaps most, economists concerned with rural development have urged heavy concentration on outmigration and relocation as solutions to the problems of rural youths. Although relocation can be a useful part of an overall growth policy and rural development strategy, relocation will not solve rural problems for a variety of reasons:

  — While relocation might benefit some younger, better-educated rural people, many movers do not benefit from moving relative to similar groups of nonmovers. A major domestic problem in the United States has been the displacement of millions of people, young and old, from agriculture with no preparation for nonfarm jobs or urban living.

— Most rural people do not wish to move, especially since the 1960s, when the problems of the cities were widely publicized.

— Relocation is not popular politically; few politicians or local employers will vote to appropriate funds to depopulate their areas.

— While some individuals improve their welfare by moving, migration causes problems for rural and urban areas. Rural areas lose their most productive people and are left with residual populations with higher dependency ratios. Urban areas suffer from the influx of poorly trained and educated people who contribute to urban congestion, pollution, poverty, crime, and other social problems. Although there is fairly consistent evidence that recent rural migrants do better than people with the same characteristics born in urban places, these advantages are only temporary and look good mainly because the comparison is with the urban disadvantaged, whose conditions are far from ideal. In the long run, migration causes very serious problems for large cities.

● Although relocation can be an important component of growth policy, much greater attention should be devoted to a *rural development strategy* including the following:

— Because rural areas have unique requirements, rather than imposing remedies adopted for urban places, programs should be geared to these special needs.

— Because leadership and organization are important weaknesses in rural areas, attention should be given to creating and strengthening rural organizations--especially cooperatives, unions, community development corporations, and health organizations.

— The major economic problem of rural areas is the *limited range of job opportunities.* Major attention, therefore, should be given to job creation, preferably by stimulating jobs in the private sector by making rural areas more attractive places to live, work, and invest in.

Since adequate jobs are not likely to be created to offset the natural population increase, displacement from agriculture, and backmigration into rural areas of people who wish to live there, attention should be devoted to--

1. Supporting community development corporations, cooperatives, or other organizations to make it possible to develop jobs in rural areas that have profitable business opportunities but which are avoided by private, profit-maximizing enterprises who can find more profitable opportunities elsewhere.

2. Public employment. Public employment should not be funded entirely through local governments, because these entities do not always have the imagination, will, or flexibility to create a wide range of productive jobs for rural youths. Programs based on the Civilian Conservation Corps, Operation Mainstream, and public works experiences are more likely to reach the disadvantaged and should be given heavy weight. These programs can provide jobs, work experience, and training for youths, while simultaneously performing useful work.

– Manpower programs are indispensable components of rural development. These programs can be developed to fit the needs of rural people. Functionally, they could provide the following:

1. Better labor market information. Many rural areas currently are not adequately served by formal labor market organizations.

2. Rural employment outreach to recruit and train rural youths for expanding rural job opportunities such as long-term employment in the construction of power plants, water control projects, and other major facilities. Without such outreach efforts, these positions are likely to go to urban workers.

3. Training for existing and potential jobs. Major attention should be devoted to strengthening the "start-up" training concept to train workers for higher-paying jobs before industry locates in rural places, and to have trained people available when plants open their doors.

4. *A radical change in education.*

a. Teachers should be specially trained to deal with the unique problems of rural youth. These teachers should be sympathetic to, or at least understand, the values held by various groups of rural youths and should avoid the negative psychological impact they all too frequently have now.

Teachers must understand their students before they can teach; they also should build on the values and experiences of their students, rather than trying to denegrate those values and experiences.

b. Greater reliance should be placed on national funding and less reliance on the local property taxes, since education is a national problem.

c. Rural educational research and demonstration programs should be established to conduct realistic demonstrations of the educational problems facing rural youths.

d. Work training programs in the schools should rely more heavily on advice and support from people outside the educational establishment in order to break down the barriers between the education system and work. The idea that education, defined as trained intelligence, takes place only in formal, educational settings should be vigorously challenged. Much more attention must be paid to motivation of rural youths by demonstrating the values of education and training.

5. Greater equity must be achieved in the availability of social services, especially health care. As in other areas, however, these service delivery systems must be geared to the realities of rural conditions.

6. Finally, solutions to the problems of rural youth demand *systematic* analyses of those problems and *comprehensive* remedies. A systems approach focuses on those factors that are basic causes of the problem under consideration. Approaches that concentrate on only one aspect of a problem (jobs, getting doctors into an area, improving water or sanitation, etc.) are likely to be counterproductive. Similarly, analyses heavily biased toward a single academic discipline are not likely to produce effective bases for policy.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL YOUTH

Introduction

Because of the invisibility of rural problems in an urban-based society, both policymakers and the general public have many misconceptions about rural matters. There is both insufficient knowledge of and appreciation for the fact that rural conditions and problems are sufficiently unique that many policies and programs that might be effective in urban areas all too frequently do not fit rural realities. There are, for example, important urban-rural differences in the nature of health problems and the practice of medicine that make it difficult to transfer urban medical programs to rural places. Indeed, the prevailing values (that is, emphasis on specialization and technological sophistication) of the medical system in the United States are such that the typical medical school graduate is not prepared or motivated to practice in rural areas. It is, therefore, necessary to design effective medical training programs and delivery systems for rural people.

Similarly, programs for the poor must be alert to the differences in the character and dimensions of poverty in rural and urban places as well as between regions. In the South, for example, poverty (especially among blacks) is basically a nonmetropolitan phenomenon, while in the non-South, poverty is mainly a metropolitan problem. Most rural families in poverty are headed by employed males, while urban poor families are much more likely to be headed by females who are not in the work force. In addition, urban or metropolitan poverty is much more closely associated with family breakdown, crime, drug addiction, and attitudinal factors that result in labor force withdrawal. These differences suggest that welfare (direct income subsidies), crime prevention, and drug rehabilitation programs might be more appropriate and effective for combating urban poverty; whereas, job creation and manpower programs might do more for the rural poor.

These illustrations could be extended but are sufficient to make the point that effective programs to deal with the problems of rural youth must be structured to fit the distinct characteristics of rural places.

Meaning of "Rural"

There is considerable confusion about the meaning of "rural," which is defined differently by different governmental agencies. For example, the Bureau of the Census generally defines as "rural" those people living in places with populations of less than 2,500, while the U.S. Department of Labor defines it as counties where a majority of the people live in places of less than 2,500 population.

The Rural Development Act of 1972 adds two additional definitions: (1) For most purposes of the Act, "rural" means anything outside any city or town of more than 10,000 inhabitants. This includes about 30 percent of the national population in 1970. (2) For business loans and grants purposes, the Act defines "rural" as including anything outside cities of 50,000 population or more and their immediately adjacent urbanized areas with population densities of more than 100 persons per square mile. This included about 40 percent of the U.S. population in 1970.

The Census Bureau and the Labor Department define as "urban" all places that are not rural. However, "urban places" is an official Census classification designating the population who live in towns of 2,500 to 10,000 outside metropolitan areas.

Another term sometimes confused with rural is "nonmetropolitan." In general, metropolitan, or standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAs), are counties with populations of 50,000 or more. Nonmetropolitan populations include all others. The nonmetropolitan population is sometimes divided between farm and nonfarm, but this causes confusion because metropolitan areas also have farm populations. The nonmetropolitan farm population, therefore, does not define the total farm population. Similarly, metropolitan areas have rural as well as urban populations.

Part of the problem involved in deriving a precise definition for rural areas is that different definitions are useful for different purposes. Obviously, if we are talking about farming, a definition that includes the open country where farming takes place is much more appropriate than one based on population density or size of place. On the other hand, for many economic development purposes such a definition would be inappropriate because a development concept must relate small towns and rural hinterlands in an overall development approach, since one of the realities of rural places is the diminishing distinction between rural farm and nonfarm.

In general, we have found it useful to use nonmetropolitan rather than rural; although, as noted earlier, nonmetropolitan has a different definition than rural. However, since the statistics are presented by different agencies in different forms, we are forced to use the definition chosen by the agencies whose numbers we employ.

Although we might lack a precise definition, the concept of rural has *operational meaning* that can be distinguished from nonrural activities in particular areas. This can be done, for example, with respect to the medical system, the educational system, rural labor markets, and other such sectors.

Characteristics of Rural Places

The main way in which a rural population is different from that of other areas is in terms of *population density*. An overall indication of this problem can be seen by the fact that the urban population in 1970 was about three-fourths of the total U.S. population but occupied only 1.5 percent of the land area. This meant, of course, that rural people, about a fourth of the total population, occupied 98.5 percent of the land area.

This relatively sparse population density is caused mainly by the nature of the rural economic base, which historically derived from agriculture and extractive industries. More recently, agriculture has declined in relative importance, and urban areas expanded their proportion of the land area from 1.1 to 1.5 percent between 1960 and 1970. The agricultural space, however, has become even more depopulated as technological change makes it possible to produce more on larger farms with fewer workers.

Agriculture has also caused very limited attention to be devoted to human resource development, especially in the areas of the South and West, where much labor was needed at harvest time. Large-scale agricultural producers traditionally have not been interested in improving education, because they have felt that education would increase the options available to people, making it difficult to secure workers at harvest time.

The sharecropping and migratory labor systems were particularly inimical to human development. Migrants had little stability, spent much time in motion, were paid very low wages, and had difficulty educating their children. Migrants tended to have very limited access to many social services, although this has been corrected somewhat in recent years. Sharecroppers had even greater handicaps because of the nature of their experience. Indeed, sharecroppers had very limited experience even in making personal consumption choices, because most of these decisions were made by the landowners. Landowners also decided almost all aspects of the farming operation, giving very little experience to the sharecroppers who mainly embodied their labor in the crop. As a consequence, this system provided very limited incentive for sharecroppers to improve either themselves or the soil.

A number of other factors have limited human resource development in rural areas. One is the attitude the rural poor have toward education. Most of the rural poor have not considered education to be very important in terms of their personal development. This is due to the fact that limited role models available to rural youths included very few occupations that required extensive education. Not much education was required to be an agricultural worker, a tractor driver, or a migrant worker. Therefore, the rural poor, particularly, had very little incentive to become educated. In fact, a major distinction between the attitudes of the poor and attitudes of the middle class toward education is that middle class people are likely to view education as a means of advancement, whereas the poor are likely to regard education as an obstacle to be overcome before going to work.

The second of other limiting factors is that some rural poor parents have been very negative about education for their children because education systems have had a strong, urban-middle-class bias that tended to destroy traditional values and drive a wedge between parents and children. This has been an important consideration for Indians, Appalachians, and Mexican-Americans.

Third, many rural communities have opposed expenditures for education because of the heavy outmigration from rural areas. Many of the leaders in these areas were afraid that they would spend money educating children who would make their productive contributions elsewhere. With tax bases declining from very low levels to start with, many of these communities had limited ability to support a rural education system.

Finally, rural areas have had limited ability to provide educational services because of the greater prevalence of poverty in these areas. Poverty meant that the rural communities had very limited resources with which to support education and other activities.

Although manufacturing employment has grown faster in rural than in urban areas since the 1960s, most rural manufacturing industry has been labor intensive, requiring very few skills. This industry also has generally been very competitive, making it difficult for workers to organize and bargain collectively. The exceptions to this generalization are the resource-oriented industries like pulp and paper, mining, and oil field work, all of which have provided relatively few jobs, although these jobs have been relatively high-paying.

Rural Labor Markets

The distinctions between rural and urban areas can be illustrated by differences in labor markets. In the first place, because of population densities, most technical and professional workers are concentrated in metropolitan areas. Nonmetropolitan work is mainly blue collar, while metropolitan work is becoming largely white collar. The more highly specialized an occupation or profession, the less likely it is to be located in a nonmetropolitan area. As noted earlier, this means that the range of job options available to rural youth tends to be very limited. Young people who aspire to professional careers almost always have to leave rural areas unless they plan to go into one of the few fields (for example, teaching) available in rural places.

Second, because of the lack of diversity in occupations there are fewer options available to employers and workers in rural places; that is to say, rural employers are likely to have fewer workers from which to select their work forces, and rural workers are likely to have fewer job options than would be the case in urban places. As a consequence, there is much more likely to be a mismatch between workers and jobs in rural places.

Third, rural labor market information systems are likely to be informal and not very well organized. There are few employment offices, union referral systems, or formal labor market entities; moreover, such formal labor market devices as newspaper ads are much less important in rural places. Labor market information is, therefore, disseminated mainly by word of mouth. A major problem for workers and employers is, therefore, adequate information about the characteristics of workers and jobs.

Fourth, labor markets are much more likely to be structured on the demand side than on the supply side in rural places. This tends to give buyers an important advantage relative to workers. Rural workers are much less likely to have seniority systems, unions, permanent attachment to employers and are much more likely to be concentrated in low-wage casual occupations with very limited job security.

Fifth, because of the nature of the economic base in rural places formal and informal labor market education systems are likely to be very limited. Young people have very few occupational role-models for information. The schools are likely to offer a very narrow range of occupational training choices. Rural schools are likely to emphasize agriculture and homemaking courses, even though employment in agriculture is shrinking and homemaking does very little to prepare young people for the labor market.

Finally, rural people depend much more on informal family and friendship relationships than on formal and social organizations. They have governments that generally have been more responsive to economic elites and are not concerned with promoting human resource development, particularly for the disadvantaged. The disadvantaged and low-income groups lack effective organization and, therefore, have very little influence on public policy.

Rural Areas Are Heterogeneous

While it is important to generalize the distinction between rural and urban areas, we must not carry the distinctions too far or imply that rural areas are homogeneous. There are vast differences between rural places in the United States and the experiences that rural youths have differ widely among such places as Appalachia, the Black Belt of the South, the Southwest, Indian reservations, the North Central area, New England, and the Spanish-speaking population of the West. As we shall see, the characteristics of these places all cause the problems of particular youths to be quite different.

An overriding consideration in all cases has been the fact that on the average, rural youths have been disadvantaged in their environment in terms of preparing themselves for jobs, and, either by education or training, have not been adequately prepared to live and work in urban places.

Rural Population and Work Force

Because of differences in definition and problems involved in enumerating rural populations, our information about the dimensions of the work force is far from complete. According to the Census definition of rural in 1970, there were about 54 million people in rural areas out of a total population of 203 million; the rural population, therefore, was about 27 percent of the total. The absolute rural population was about the same in 1970 as it had been in 1960. The total population, however, increased by 13 percent, and thus, the rural percentage of the total population decreased from 30 percent in 1960.

Under the Labor Department's definition, the rural population was 45 million in 1970, or 22 percent of the total (somewhat smaller than by the Census definition). As noted earlier, however, the rural work force is different from the rural population, because many urban people work in rural areas, and many of those who live in rural areas work in urban places. The following rough statistics for 1971 indicate the dimensions of various rural groups:

CATEGORY	MILLION POPULATION
The Rural Population	54.00
Farm Population	9.50
Rural Work Force	30.00
Agricultural Work Force	3.90
Self-Employed Farmers	1.84
Wage or Salary Agricultural Workers	1.44
Unpaid Family Farm Workers	.64
Seasonal Farm Workers	.82
Migrant Farm Workers	.18

These statistics correct very common misconceptions. The first is the mistaken belief that the rural population has been declining. The rural population remained relatively constant between 1920 and 1970, even though it was a declining proportion of the total. In addition, the common misconception that rural is synonomous with agricultural clearly is not true. The rural population was 54 million, while the farm population was only 9.5 million; moreover, the rural work force was 30 million, while the agricultural work force was only 3.9 million. The most significant part of the rural population, therefore, is not the farm population but the rural nonfarm population.

Recent Population Shifts

There apparently were some dramatic shifts in long-run migration trends during the late 1960s and early 1970s. For the first time in the history of the republic, the long-run rural-to-urban and South-to-non-

South trends turned around. Between 1970 and 1973, nonmetropolitan areas gained 4.2 percent in population, while metropolitan areas gained only 2.9 percent. In many rural counties in the South, there was a reversal of outmigration patterns between the 1960s and 1970s. This was especially true of two places: (1) an oval-shaped area between St. Louis and Dallas and (2) another area bounded by Memphis, Louisville, and Atlanta [1, 1975].

The assumption that a disproportionate amount of this population growth had gone into those rural counties near large employment concentrations is not supported by the evidence. Counties with cities of 25,000 to 49,999 people grew only about as fast as all nonmetropolitan areas; moreover, these counties grew mainly because of natural population increase. They actually had lower rates of inmigration than smaller places. Counties with cities of 2,500 or less had inmigration rates double those of counties with cities of 25,000 or more people.

The main reasons for the reversal in the historical rural-to-urban population trends include--

- The growth of manufacturing employment, which has been much faster in nonmetropolitan than in metropolitan areas, has been particularly rapid in the South; this growth accounted for 76.1 percent of the national growth in manufacturing employment between 1960 and 1970. Growth has been particularly important in rural areas and small towns in the upper South.

The population reversal since 1970, however, has not occurred primarily in places with heavy concentrations of manufacturing employment. Trade and other nonmanufacturing activities have become even more important. There has also been some resurgence in economic activity in rural coal mining areas. Although manufacturing has not been an important attraction to population since 1970, the growth of manufacturing employment has made it possible for many of those places to grow during the 1960s.

- Many rural areas are growing because they are attractive places for retirement and recreation purposes. There have traditionally been a number of such centers in Florida and the Southwest, but now they have spread to the Ozarks, the hill country of Central Texas, and the Gulf Coast. As Beale points out, "In general, coasts, lakes, reservoirs, and hills are favorite locations" [1, 1975, p. 9].

- Population growth was well above average (5.8 percent, 1970-73) in counties having senior state colleges and universities. These counties grew not only because of the influx of students, faculty, staff, and workers catering to college communities but also because the presence of a college made these places more attractive to other industries.

Finally, there has been a decided shift in the residential preferences of people in the United States. Public opinion polls consistently show that a majority of people in the United States who now live in urban places would prefer to live in small towns in rural areas. The evidence also shows, however, that blacks have a much weaker preference for rural places than whites [4, 1972, p. 605]. Beale concludes,

> . . .general affluence, low total population growth, easy transportation and communication, modernization of rural life and urban population massing so large that they diminish the advantages of urban life--these factors may make a downward shift to smaller communities seem more feasible and desirable [1, 1975].

Characteristics of Rural Youth

Let us take a more detailed look at rural populations, with special emphasis on the characteristics of young people. Table 1 shows that the nonmetropolitan population of the United States is concentrated much more heavily than the metropolitan in the over-65 and under-17 age groups. This undoubtedly is due to the outmigration of people in the prime working age groups. This outmigration has left behind a residual population that is younger *and* older than the population of metropolitan areas.

As Table 2 shows, there are about 13 million nonmetropolitan young people of all races between the ages of 14 and 24. About 11.7 million of these people are white, and about 1.4 million are black. The 13.2 million young people in nonmetropolitan areas constitute just over 30 percent of all young people in the United States in this age category. About one-fifth of the total and one-fourth of the black, nonmetropolitan population is in the 14-to-24 age group.

Although the proportion of young blacks in nonmetropolitan areas is slightly lower than the proportion of whites in those areas, the black proportion of the total nonmetropolitan population in these age groups is somewhat higher than the white proportion. The concentration of the black nonmetropolitan population, however, is even higher then these figures indicate because well over 90 percent of all nonmetropolitan blacks in the United States are in the South.

Extent of Poverty

One of the most important determinants of the experiences of young people in nonmetropolitan areas is poverty. Poverty makes it difficult for rural families to develop their children to their fullest potential in terms of providing education, health, or cultural amenities. Poverty requires or forces nonmetropolitan youngsters to go to work earlier, to drop out of school, to get married earlier, and, therefore, also perpetuates a cycle of poverty that becomes very difficult to break down. Because of the limited cultural opportunities available to many young people in rural places, there is a very high incidence of teenage pregnancies, which makes it very difficult for teenagers to continue in school or to develop their job potential.

The extent of nonmetropolitan poverty for various groups is indicated in Table 3. In 1974, 10.2 percent of metropolitan people were below the poverty line, as contrasted with 14.4 percent of people outside metropolitan areas. The incidence of poverty for whites in metropolitan areas was 7.6 percent, as contrasted with 11.7 percent in nonmetropolitan areas. The black proportions in poverty were much higher: 27.9 for metropolitan and 42 for nonmetropolitan.

Although the incidence of poverty is much higher among rural blacks than rural whites, there are many more nonmetropolitan whites in poverty than nonmetropolitan blacks. In 1974, there were about 7 million poor, nonmetropolitan whites and 2.5 million poor, nonmetropolitan blacks.

Since blacks, however, are more heavily concentrated in the South, their proportion of the total poor in the nonmetropolitan South is much greater. Over 60 percent of all the nonmetropolitan poverty in the United States is concentrated in the South, and blacks account for 43 percent of the South's nonmetropolitan poor.

The nonmetropolitan areas not only have a higher incidence of poverty but also have lower median incomes, as can be seen from Table 4; moreover, the same relative relationships hold with respect to median incomes, as was true of incidence of poverty. Blacks generally tend to have relatively lower-median incomes in farm areas than in nonmetropolitan areas and lower incomes in nonmetropolitan than in metropolitan areas. The black, median farm-income was about 48 percent of the white, median farm-income, whereas the black proportions of the nonmetropolitan and metropolitan medians were 53.7 and 59.0 respectively.

Outmigration

One of the most important events for most nonmetropolitan young people is outmigration. The heavy outmigration of young people deprives nonmetropolitan places of an important leadership group and leaves behind a residual population made up much more of very young and older people.

Outmigration has a detrimental effect on the attitudes of young people. The expectation that youths will have to leave in order to seek better opportunities causes them to be less identified with their home areas and less concerned about the development of those places. Of course, the main reason that young people leave rural areas is that there have been inadequate job training and educational opportunities for them in those places.

Outmigration also influences the attitude of community leaders about such matters as education and human resource development. It becomes more difficult to gain support for human resource development programs if it is known that the young people who get trained or educated will not make their productive contributions in the areas where they are trained or educated. Of course, the need for rural youth to leave their home areas varies a good bit by region and also by race.

In a study of the North Central states, Miles found that 85 percent of the youth from rural counties leave home by age 21, and 93 percent of these go to metropolitan areas. For more densely populated areas, Miles indicated that more youth commute to urban jobs, but his evidence on this point is not substantial [10, 1973].

Table 5 shows something of the results of the outmigration of whites and nonwhites from rural to urban areas. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of whites between the ages of 15 and 24 increased by 58.6 percent in urban areas but only 16.2 percent in rural areas. The corresponding increase for nonwhites was even more striking--91.2 percent for urban nonwhites and only 4.2 percent for rural nonwhites. These figures also show that the proportion of nonwhites in the urban West and North Central states increased much faster than in the South. The highest increase was 161.5 percent in the West, as compared with only 70.2 percent in the urban South. The increase in the nonwhite population in these age groups in the rural South was even more starkly contrasted with other regions. The increase was only 1.3 percent in the South as contrasted with 30.8 percent in the Northeast, 24.3 percent in the North Central, and 18.6 percent in the West. The proportion of increase in the young population in the rural South among whites was somewhat larger, but it was still much below the increase in either urban population or rural areas elsewhere except for the West.

Consequences of Outmigration

A number of studies have indicated the ability of rural-to-urban migrants to function in urban labor markets. Despite the fact that a very large proportion of blacks who were displaced from the rural South are inadequately prepared to function in urban labor markets, there has been a rather surprising and consistent finding that blacks who migrate from the rural South to the urban North have equal or greater employment income stability than blacks with the same attributes born in those urban areas or who move there from other urban or northern areas.

This finding has been confirmed by use of the Survey of Economic Opportunity data by Beale [2, 1971], and by Masters [9, 1970], and by studies of 1970 Census data by Larry Long. The 1970 Census data show that black migrants to six of the nation's largest cities were less likely to be poor or on welfare in 1970 than blacks born and reared in those cities. The cross-sectional pattern suggests that black migrants from the South may initially experience fairly high rates of poverty and welfare dependency, but after a few years, the Southern migrants are more successful in escaping from poverty and welfare dependency than blacks native to large cities in the North. The pattern among whites in the six cities show no consistent relationship among migration, and poverty and welfare status, except for a slightly higher than average rate of poverty and receipt of welfare among Southern-born whites [7, 1974, pp. 46-56].

We do not, of course, know the reasons for this pattern among blacks, but it is possible to conjecture, on the basis of the evidence, that a number of forces cause the newly arrived migrants from the South to have better employment and income experiences. The blacks who leave the South tend to have higher levels of education than blacks who remain, even though they have lower levels of education than many of the Northern-born blacks. Education of the Southern migrants, therefore, could not account for the higher earnings of this group. It is possible, however, that Southern black migrants are a more select group in terms of intelligence, motivation, and ambition. It could well be that the act of moving demonstrates a positive motivation toward improving one's condition. It might, therefore, be possible that the Southern migrants are much more highly motivated to excel than the people born in Northern ghettos.

In addition, Southern migrants undoubtedly tend to have a different attitude toward the jobs available to them in the urban North than is true of Northern-born blacks. The Southern migrants probably compare the jobs available to them in the North with the relatively poorer jobs they held in the South and, at least for a while, are satisfied with the Northern jobs. Because Southern blacks have these attitudes, Northern employers probably are more likely to prefer Southern-born to Northern-born blacks for jobs requiring limited training and education.

It is also possible that the data do not assess all the income of Northern-born blacks; the numbers might, therefore, be biased in favor of those working in regular jobs. There is evidence that the Northern-born blacks are more likely to be involved in criminal activity and to derive illicit income from a wide range of activities. Crane and Weisman concluded, for example, that life in the North was so disruptive that black migrants from the South were actually better off than those born in the North [5, 1972].

What this means, of course, is that we have to be much more concerned about the devastating impact of the Northern ghetto on the children of the Southern migrants than about its impact on the migrants themselves.

There is some evidence that compared with nonmovers possessing similar characteristics, migrants to urban areas experience gains only after a period of adjustment. Wertheimer, for example, estimates (by means of regressions in which gains to migration are estimated as differences in expected income between migrants and nonmigrants where age, sex, race, and migration status are independent variables) that except for cities of 750,000, there were no gains from migration the first five years. During the next 30 years, earning differences ranged from $550 a year for cities smaller than 50,000 to $1,675 per year for cities of over 750,000. The present value of the expected earnings differential at age 20 ranges from $3,650 for small to $12,500 for large cities [13,1970].

Wertheimer's results showed greater gains to migration than many other studies. His results are due to--

- His sample, which was heavily weighted by the poor and nonwhites, whereas, many of the other studies use Social Security data, which exclude those too poor to qualify for Social Security.

- His technique, which controls for education, age, race, and sex. His results for the first five years (no gains to migration) are similar to the short-run results of other studies.

Many studies have found farm-to-nonfarm migration to be strongly influenced by nonfarm unemployment. Indeed, nonfarm unemployment appears to be a more important determinant of off-farm migration than income differentials. High nonfarm unemployent influences migration by discouraging outmigration, by inducing a return to farming by many previous outmigrants who lose their nonfarm jobs, and by reducing the prospective returns to outmigration [3, 1961] and [11, 1961].

The failure of many migrants to gain relative to similar groups who do not move, casts some doubt on the efficacy of outmigration as a way to solve the economic problems of rural people. The exaggerated income gains for rural-to-urban migration result in part from a failure to control for those income-earning characteristics such as age, education, and sex, which are more likely to be found in migrants than in rural nonmigrants. Further, most studies of the economic gains from migration seem to underestimate greatly the cost-of-living differentials between rural and urban areas, which could be substantial, although we have no appropriate measures. Noneconomic costs of moving, which evidently are substantial, also are not included in these calculations.

In addition, of course, the studies showing great returns to migration tend to ignore some of the social costs created by rising crime rates, congestion, pollution, and other problems of large cities, as well as the problems created by depopulating rural areas.

Educational Deficiencies

Some of the most important deficiencies for rural youth are associated with the inadequacies of the rural education system. Measured in terms of formal education, nonmetropolitan areas have improved somewhat since 1970 but still lag very far behind metropolitan areas, especially for blacks. Indeed, the nonmetropolitan rates of educational achievement as they appear in Tables 6 and 7, also lag considerably behind those of residents of central cities.

The enrollment status figures also show that this educational deficiency is not just a result of past lack of rural education, but is continuing.

Table 8 shows that the percentage of young people enrolled in school in nonmetropolitan areas is considerably lower, especially in the higher age groups, than is true of metropolitan areas. Further, the differentials in metropolitan areas are particularly pronounced for blacks and whites between the ages of 18 and 21. A very striking difference exists in the 20-to-21 age group, where only 1.2 percent of blacks were enrolled in school in 1973, as contrasted with 33 percent of whites in that age group. The contrast in the 18-and-19-year-old group is not as great but still shows that whites have over twice as large a proportion of this age group enrolled in schools in metropolitan areas as blacks. Surprisingly, the differentials between blacks and whites are not as great in nonmetropolitan as they are in metropolitan areas.

Table 8 also shows that in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, blacks who are not enrolled in school are less likely to be high school graduates than is true of whites. Furthermore, among whites not enrolled in school, those who live in nonmetropolitan areas are less likely to be high school graduates than those who live in metropolitan areas.

Table 9 shows some of the educational achievement inadequacies for individuals by standarized years of schooling. This table shows that people in urban areas are generally ahead of those in rural areas at grade 8 for all regions except the West. Educational achievement levels for urban people are considerably above the nonurban areas at grade 12, although the differential is not as great for the West as it is for other regions. The results show that blacks in both urban and nonurban areas lag for behind at grade 8, and even further behind at grade 12 in every region, especially in the South. This result also is confirmed by the National Assessment of Educational Progress in reading, writing, and science, as shown in Tables 10, 11, and 12.

Rural vocational education has long been criticized for not being responsive to labor market conditions. In particular, rural vocational education has been primarily concerned with training people for agriculture and homemaking and less in the rapidly growing rural nonfarm job categories. Table 13 indicates that nationwide there has been some progress in this matter through time but that vocational education still concentrates very heavily on home economics and agriculture, especially in rural areas, although the proportion of all vocational students trained in agriculture is less than it was in 1968.

Relative Isolation

Another major factor influencing human development is interaction between people. In this regard, rural youth tend to be disadvantaged because of their relative isolation and the limited interaction they have with other individuals. Although rural areas differ widely in the degree of isolation from all forms of human activity, studies of Appalachia, Indian reservations, and other rural areas where overall population densities are low, cite isolation as a special problem for young people [10. 1973]. The prevalence of television and automobiles have, no doubt, lessened isolation, but it is still a real factor in rural life. The distances over which people must travel is a major inhibiting factor for training or enrichment programs for rural youth.

Miles shows that a far higher percentage of North Central rural students suffer negative effects of isolation than those in the Southeast. Any area of low population density is more likely to show these results. The Southeast is heavily enough populated to avoid them.

Even in the Southeast, a lack of occupational diversity is an inhibiting factor in the development of young people. The lack of role-models has an effect on aspirations of rural youth, as well as on their realistic expectations of finding training and eventually employment in the areas of their choice. The aspirations of rural youth are undoubtedly high with respect to the opportunities they have, but their aspirations fall below those of urban young people [6, 1975].

Lack of variety in work slots also has been a serious obstacle to the development of rural youth in manpower and work programs. Since training slots are often in public agencies, especially in Neighborhood Youth Corps programs, the lack of public services in rural areas has the effect of reducing the training opportunities for youths.

Occupational and Training Choices

We have already detailed the differences between the structure of rural and urban labor markets. It is, however, instructive to take a look at the differences between labor force participation and unemployment rates for rural and urban youth. In this connection, there seem to be no significant differences. Unemployment rates are very high for all youths, especially blacks. For older youths, migration trends may contribute to holding urban rates up to rural levels, but there is no real evidence to show this. There is, however, evidence of higher labor force participation rates for more recent migrants to urban areas. Miles found that extremely high percentages gave "unable to find work" as a reason for migrating. This was mentioned by 59 percent of blacks and 17 percent of whites. Table 14 shows the unemployment rates by residence, sex, race, and Spanish origin for 1970 to 1974. These figures generally show that unemployment rates decline for males and females as age goes up, but that unemployment has increased in all age and sex categories between 1970 and 1974. The increases were particularly high for blacks, who already had relatively high unemployment rates. The unemployment of young people of Spanish origin is higher than for whites but still not as high as for blacks.

Table 15 gives the labor force participation rates by residence, sex, race, and Spanish origin between 1974 and 1970. Observe that the labor force participation rates generally increased for all groups except black females 20 to 24 years of age, whose rates declined slightly. The increases were particularly large in nonmetropolitan areas for white males 16 to 19 and 20 to 24. Also observe that the black participation rates are substantially lower than the white rates.

Special Groups Among the Rural Youth

There are several, special subgroups among rural people whose characteristics set them apart from others and demand attention for their particular problems. Each occupies a distinct region, although representatives of each group may be found outside the basic region. The most important of these are the racial groups--blacks, those of Spanish heritage, and native Americans, but others, such as Appalachian youth, should have specific attention. Of the broad areas of the country, only the South has significant numbers of each of these groups (Table 16).

Some of the problems faced by youths from these groups are racial discrimination; cultural backgrounds outside the mainstream of American culture (which may have an inhibiting effect on participation in the usual labor market structures); and language and other barriers to education and employment in the usual programs provided. Generally the subgroups share poverty and low educational attainment as common characteristics. White youths may also experience special problems by virtue of the place in which they live.

For all of these groups, isolation is a handicap for young people in sparsely populated areas, even where those youths are from families with average incomes (Table 17). Because these groups are likely to have different values from those prevailing in urban areas among middle income whites, they frequently experience great difficulties of adjustment to the so-called mainstream of American life. This problem can be illustrated in the extreme with Indians, but the same principles apply with less intensity to the other special groups.

Although it probably is a serious undercount, there were about 800,000 American Indians in 1970 (according to Census data), 63 percent of whom live in rural areas. In 1960, approximately three-fourths of all American Indians lived in rural areas. A major problem for Indian youths is the fact that there are very few educational and training opportunities on reservations, where most of them live. They have very limited role-models for a variety of occupations and come from families in extreme poverty. In 1970, for example, three-fourths of all Indian families had incomes of less than $3,000 a year and half had less than $2,000. The range of occupations available on those reservations was extremely limited. Furthermore, there had never been an effective educational system for Indians, primarily because of the effort by the federal government to turn Indians into white men. The consequence of this was to denigrate the traditional Indian values and make Indians feel that they could not learn the new ways and that their old ways were inferior to the ways of the white man.

Education has been an exteme hardship for many Indian youngsters. The pride in Indian traditions and the use of reservation resources to develop skills in education have been extremely limited. Furthermore, the dominant educational system tended to drive a wedge between Indian children and their parents, because the parents often had values that the schools taught were inferior to those of whites. The main incompatible values Indians were likely to hold related to such matters as land ownership, the distribution of material things according to need, and the fact that Indians tended to be a lot more present-oriented than whites. In Indian societies, for example, acquisition holds a lower value for individuals than sharing. Also, it was very difficult for many Indians to understand the concept of land ownership, as they considered land to be a natural gift for the common use of all people. This problem was compounded by the fact that to get an education, Indian youths frequently even had to become physically separated from their parents and their homes.

Table 16 shows the distribution by regions of the young people in the United States by race or ethnic origin in 1970. Only the South has a significant number of all of these major groups. Indians are concentrated primarily in the West and the South with a smattering in other regions. People of Spanish heritage also are concentrated in the West and South, although a significant number are concentrated in the Northeast. Blacks are concentrated primarily in the South, although they constitute a significant proportion of the population in other regions as well.

Table 17 shows the concentration in minority schools for various groups and, therefore, gives some indication of the degree of isolation of minority youths in educational institutions. Even though the racial isolation of blacks is declining, about one-fourth of all blacks still attend schools that have 99 to 100 percent minorities, and over a third still attend schools that have between 95 and 100 percent minorities.

The racial isolation of Spanish-surnamed, American Indian, and Oriental groups is much less than that for blacks but is still a problem for some groups in some areas.

Table 18 gives some indication of the achievement scores by race and ethnic groups. These figures show that blacks are generally further behind in median achievement scores than the other groups, but that all minority groups tend to lag considerably behind whites, except for Oriental Americans, whose scores are only slightly behind those of whites.

Thus, while there are important problems of education, isolation, and human resource development for rural white youths (particularly those who are isolated in places like Appalachia and the North Central states), all of the figures show that blacks are the poorest and least educated and suffer from the worst dependency ratios, poorest services, worst housing, and many other disabilities. Black youths have the highest unemployment rates, whether metropolitan or nonmetropolitan. Miles indicates that far more black youth (38 percent compared with whites' 7 percent) always expect to have to migrate to cities to find work when they leave school [10, 1973].

The greater intensity of problems among blacks, however, should not obscure the special problems of the other groups. In many ways, the American Indians have some of the most difficult problems of any group. Reservation Indians have been the object of culture-destroying assimilation efforts, often centered in the Bureau of Indian Affairs residential schools. It would be hard to find a group more isolated, in deeper poverty, with less education, and whose problems are more ignored. There have been improvements in Indian education and a greater awareness that Indians need to gain control of their own affairs. Still, the shockingly high suicide rate among Indian teenagers and their very low achievement scores are evidence of the very poor conditions they face.

Youths of Spanish origin face unique problems because of their culture and conservative leadership of the Mexican Americans, especially in rural areas, which contribute significantly to their lack of development. Continuing immigration of rural Mexican citizens also lowers the average attainment of this group. Further, the problem of the language difference is a considerable impediment to relocation outside of border areas of Spanish-speaking enclaves in the larger cities.

REMEDIAL PROGRAMS

At the outset, any approach to the problems of rural youths must be comprehensive in nature. One of the main causes of failure in past efforts to get at the problems of isolated rural peoples has been the piecemeal approach followed.

Any rural development strategy should be based on a number of considerations:

- Rural programs must be geared to the unique characteristics of each place. To the extent possible, the programs should have input from the groups affected. This is particularly important for those culturally and racially isolated groups that have had great difficulty being assimilated into the mainstream of American life.

- Rural development is not just for the benefit of rural people but is in the national interest. This is due to the fact that many urban problems are made in rural places. Rural development would, therefore, help relieve some of the most pressing urban problems that the nation faces. An effective rural development strategy also might make it possible for rural and urban people to have greater freedom of choice in where they live.

- The main reasons that most rural outmigrants cannot stay in rural places are economic. Although metropolitan areas also provide advantages of diversity of economic opportunities and life-styles that are not likely to be available in most small towns or rural areas, the evidence also shows that many people find the quality of urban life to be negative and deteriorating.

The preference for rural living undoubtedly accounts for the slight reversal in rural to urban migration trends since 1970. As indicated earlier, for the first time since 1890, rural areas are gaining population absolutely and relatively.

The main negative aspects of the quality of life in large metropolitan areas frequently are overlooked until they reach crisis proportions, because of the positive market attractions of those places.

- The specific needs of rural youths include--

  — A general need for industrial development to provide more role-models, opportunities for long-term employment, and on-the-job training opportunities. An effective rural development strategy should create an atmosphere in which young people think that there is some future for them in rural places.

  — Having much more done to improve their training opportunities. These training programs must be geared to the realities of rural places.

There need to be the following improvements:

— Measures to promote a much better primary and secondary educational system. One of the first prerequisites of such a system is a broader finance base than local property taxes. Inequalities between places are perpetuated by relying exclusively on this source of income. Since the education of young people is a national problem, funding of rural education should come much more from the federal government.

— Special training for rural teachers to avoid the problems of urban-biased instruction. Teachers must be taught to learn and to respect the values and traditions of particular rural people and must try to build on those values wherever possible. Conflicts between the values of the educational system and the values held by rural youth should be minimized.

— Much more innovative use of the public media, transportation, and mobile units than is currently the case. Even though transportation is one of the most serious problems in rural places, and an inordinate amount of educational money goes into providing transportation to rural schools, this transportation mechanism is used very inefficiently. It should be possible to coordinate activities in such a way as to make it possible for school buildings and transportation facilities to be used for other purposes when they are not in use for education.

— Steps taken to upgrade vocational education in rural places to provide a broader range of options for rural youth. Perhaps this can be done through greater use of area schools where a wide range of vocational options are available. Also more attention could be given to the use of media to help expose rural youngsters to a wider range of options.

There is, further, an important need to improve the education of rural youngsters outside the school. Indeed, it would probably be useful to break down the feeling that learning takes place only in the classroom.

— The creation of training procedures that are geared to the requirements of rural people. For example, a very innovative training procedure is the so-called start-up industry training concept, now being used in a number of states, especially in the South. The basic idea underlying start-up training is to try to leapfrog the normal industrial development process in rural areas. The usual process is one whereby the first nonfarm industry to enter an area ordinarily is very low-paying, marginal industry that tends to be labor intensive and highly competitive. If development takes place beyond this first stage, higher-paying industry will provide higher-wage opportunities by attracting workers away from the initial marginal industries. Thus, through a process of growth and diversification, it might be possible over a period of years to improve the industry mix in a place through successive stages of upgrading. The start-up training concept attempts to improve the earning opportunities of people immediately through giving them higher level skills. The basic idea is to closely coordinate the training with the attraction of industry. The concept assumes that industry will attempt to gear itself to the characteristics of the people available. Therefore, if the people of an area have limited skills, education, and productive capabilities, only marginal industry will locate there. On the other hand, if skills can be upgraded, this can be an added attraction to higher paying industry.

— Experience to date indicates that this concept can be successful, although so far it has been used mainly to accelerate the development of places that were developing anyway [12, 1975]. Much more needs to be done to use this concept to get industry into rural places currently being by-passed in economic development.

The improvement of labor market systems. Experience demonstrates that the Employment Service and other official manpower agencies have had limited penetration into remote areas. Experience also shows, however, that it is possible through relatively small expenditures of money and effort for local groups to put together a labor market information base that is very realistic and geared to their particular needs [8, 1974]. These efforts should be encouraged and extended.

— The creation of mechanisms for recruiting rural youth for rural jobs. Under present procedures, which tend to be urban in their orientation, employers often recruit work forces for rural projects from urban places. This is primarily because urban places have formalized labor market procedures that are better known to employers and, therefore, are easier to use. It has been demonstrated that with a relatively small amount of effort, rural people could be recruited for jobs in rural and urban places. A rural employment outreach program would be in the national interest because it would stimulate rural development while relieving some of the inflationary pressures that might exist in tighter urban labor markets.

Currently a demonstration project in the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway area is being conducted jointly by the National Rural Center and a number of other organizations to demonstrate the viability of this concept. Experience to date indicates that this can be a very effective approach to improving labor market information, and recruiting and training procedures in rural places.

— Programs to help rural youth make the adjustment from rural to urban areas through relocation assistance. This need stems from the fact that not every rural place is going to be able to develop, and in order to find jobs, it will be necessary for some rural youths either to commute to relatively distant places or to move entirely. Relocation assistance can be an important part of a rural development strategy, although, as we have emphasized earlier, relocation alone will not solve many of the problems of rural or urban development. This tool must, therefore, be used very carefully and only after the judgment has been made that a particular rural place is not likely to develop.

— Finally, a national policy for rural development, balanced growth, and full employment. This policy should include realistic attention to the particular problems of rural areas by providing better data and research into the special problems of rural people.

It also will be necessary to provide public employment jobs for rural youth. Experience demonstrates that many rural areas are not likely to approach full employment, even with very high levels of inflation in the national economy. It would be much more effective in these cases to provide something like the Civilian Conservation Corps which was so successful during the Great Depression of the 1930s or the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) programs which were very successful in rural places, especially in the South, during the 1960s. Experience indicates that the conditions in rural places make programs like the NYC much more attractive there than they were in many urban areas. In the rural South and Southwest, the relatively low wages paid in the NYC programs were very attractive to rural youth, even though those same programs frequently had trouble attracting youths from urban ghettos.

Public employment programs can be used to do many things that need to be done in rural places while providing jobs and training for rural youths. Public employment programs alone will not solve the problems of rural youth, because permanent economic development also is necessary. The evidence suggests that permanent rural economic development can and is taking place, but a national policy is needed to see to it that rural people benefit as much as possible from this development and that many of the uncontrolled developmental problems of urban areas are not transferred to rural places.

Table 1

Percentage of the Population in Various Age Groups, 1974

Age	All Races		White		Black	
	Metro	Nonmetro	Metro	Nonmetro	Metro	Nonmetro
Under 17	32.1	33.0	30.9	32.1	40.1	42.1
18-64	58.7	55.6	59.4	56.2	53.6	48.2
Over-65	9.2	11.4	9.7	11.6	6.2	9.8

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Social and Economic Characteristics of the Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population 1974.*

Table 2

Number and Proportion of Youths Aged 14 to 24 By Race and Area

Age and Race	Nonmetro Numbers in Thousands	Nonmetro Age Group as % of Total Nonmetro	Nonmetro as % of Age Group
All Races			
14-17	5, 474	8.3	32.8
18-24	7, 709	11.7	30.1
14-24	13, 183	20.0	31.1
White			
14-17	4, 807	8.1	34.0
18-24	6, 883	11.5	31.1
14-24	11, 690	19.6	32.2
Black			
14-17	639	11.0	28.1
18-24	764	13.1	24.7
14-24	1, 403	24.1	26.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Social and Economic Characteristics of the Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population 1974.*

Table 3

Type of Residence--Persons and Families by Low-Income Status in 1974 and Race of Head

(Numbers in thousands. Persons and families as of March 1975)

Type of Residence	All Races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below Low-Income Level		Total	Below Low-Income Level		Total	Below-Low-Income Level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
Persons									
UnitedStates..................	209, 343	24, 260	11.6	182, 363	16, 290	8.9	23, 788	7, 467	31.4
Nonfarm..............................	200, 282	22, 764	11.4	173, 913	15, 098	8.7	23, 226	7, 177	30.9
Farm....................................	9, 061	1, 496	16.5	8, 430	1, 191	14.1	562	290	51.6
Inside Metropolitan Areas.....	142, 399	14, 588	10.2	121, 814	9, 232	7.6	17, 878	4, 985	27.9
Inside Central Cities.........	61, 155	8, 796	14.4	45, 923	4, 510	9.8	13, 787	4, 088	29.6
In Poverty Areas..........	12, 866	4, 182	32.5	5, 228	1, 285	24.6	7, 401	2, 825	38.2
Outside Central Cities......	81, 245	5, 792	7.1	75, 891	4, 722	6.2	4, 091	898	21.9
In Poverty Areas..........	4, 332	905	20.9	3, 201	569	17.8	1, 056	325	30.7
Outside Metropolitan Areas....	66, 944	9, 672	14.4	60, 550	7, 057	11.7	5, 910	2, 482	42.0
In Poverty Areas..............	24, 004	5, 667	23.6	19, 563	3, 572	18.3	4, 230	2, 018	47.7
North and West.....................	142, 418	13, 499	9.5	128, 457	10, 165	7.9	11, 282	2, 946	26.1
South....................................	66, 925	10, 761	16.1	53, 907	6, 125	11.6	12, 505	4, 521	36.2
Families									
United States.....................	55, 712	5, 109	9.2	49, 451	3, 482	7.0	5, 498	1, 530	27.8
Nonfarm..............................	53, 314	4, 768	8.9	47, 166	3, 193	6.8	5, 396	1, 481	27.4
Farm....................................	2, 398	341	14.2	2, 284	290	12.7	102	49	47.6
Inside Metropolitan Areas......	37, 741	3, 073	8.1	32, 850	1, 941	5.9	4, 240	1, 060	25.0
Inside Central Cities.........	16, 012	1, 827	11.4	12, 388	924	7.5	3, 271	864	26.4
In Poverty Areas..........	3, 007	839	27.9	1, 246	247	19.9	1, 711	581	33.9
Outside Central Cities......	21, 729	1, 246	5.7	20, 462	1, 017	5.0	969	196	20.2
In Poverty Areas..........	1, 132	189	16.7	862	117	13.6	249	70	28.0
Outside Metropolitan Areas...	17, 971	2, 036	11.3	16, 601	1, 541	9.3	1, 258	470	37.4
In Poverty Areas..............	6, 371	1, 173	18.4	5, 444	791	14.5	886	369	41.7
North and West.....................	37, 613	2, 790	7.4	34, 303	2, 106	6.1	2, 669	607	22.7
South....................................	18, 099	2, 319	12.8	15, 147	1, 376	9.1	2, 829	922	32.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Social and Economic Characteristics of the Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population 1974*

Table 4

Median Family Income

Race and Residence	1974	% of White Metro	1973	% of White Metro	% Change, 1974 Dollars
All Races					
Nonfarm	12, 934	90.0	12, 151	89.6	-4.1
Farm	10, 431	72.6	10. 045	74.0	-6.4
Metropolitan	13, 771	95.8	12, 961	95.5	-4.3
Nonmetro	11, 045	76.8	10, 366	76.4	-4.0
White					
Nonfarm	13, 466	93.7	12, 706	93.7	-4.5
Farm	10, 750	74.8	10, 377	76.5	-6.6
Metropolitan	14, 377	100.0	13, 566	100.0	-4.5
Nonmetro	11, 429	79.5	10, 788	79.5	-4.5
Black					
Nonfarm	7, 862	54.7	7, 338	54.1	-3.4
Farm	5, 170	36.0	4, 599	33.9	1.3
Metropolitan	8, 489	59.0	7, 779	57.3	-1.7
Nonmetro	6, 136	42.7	5, 780	42.6	-4.3

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1974." Series P-60, No. 99, July 1975.

Table 5

Percent Change, Age Group from 15 to 24, For the Total, White, and Black Populations In Urban and Rural Areas In and Outside SMSAs, Conterminous United States and Regions, 1960 to 1970

(SMSAs as of 1960 in 1960 areas)

Variables and Regions	All Areas			In SMSA				Outside SMSA		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Central city	Other urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
All groups	47.6	62.5	14.7	55.0	42.7	90.8	9.4	35.9	65.9	16.5
Northeast	45.5	48.3	34.3	44.7	28.7	70.9	29.2	48.5	59.7	37.9
North Central	46.5	58.4	19.6	53.0	36.0	93.6	21.9	36.9	62.6	18.9
South	41.6	67.5	7.4	56.1	50.5	107.7	-3.4	28.8	66.0	9.8
West	65.8	83.3	8.0	73.0	67.4	101.5	-11.9	47.9	80.3	18.8
White	45.3	58.6	16.2	50.5	33.2	88.5	10.0	37.2	65.0	18.3
Northeast	41.5	43.4	34.3	39.6	17.4	69.9	28.3	47.9	57.7	38.7
North Central	42.8	54.0	19.5	47.8	25.0	91.7	21.1	36.2	60.7	19.1
South	42.2	66.8	9.2	54.3	43.7	109.6	-2.7	31.3	67.3	12.1
West	61.3	77.8	7.2	67.3	60.1	95.0	-11.9	46.8	77.8	17.8
Other	63.9	91.2	4.2	87.6	87.8	130.5	2.2	26.5	74.5	4.6
Northeast	93.0	97.0	30.8	95.0	95.6	95.5	70.0	68.8	131.3	6.5
North Central	94.9	100.9	24.3	98.3	92.8	144.4	83.3	72.9	135.7	16.1
South	39.1	70.2	1.3	63.5	70.6	92.7	-6.8	20.0	60.9	2.4
West	127.6	161.5	18.6	146.3	126.9	273.2	-11.7	65.5	156.3	31.0

SOURCE: Irene B. Taeuber, "The Changing Distribution of the Population of the United States in the Twentieth Century in Sara Mills Mazie, *Population Distribution and Policy*, Commision on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972, p. 98.

Table 6

Percent of Persons 25 Years and Over Who Are High School Graduates, Metro and Nonmetro, 1970

Race and Sex	All	Metro	Central City	Outside Central City	Nonmetro
All Races					
Both Sexes	52.8	55.7	51.0	59.8	46.4
Males	52.3	55.7	51.4	59.3	44.8
Females	53.3	55.7	50.7	60.2	47.9
White	55.0	57.9	54.2	60.7	48.8
Males	54.4	57.9	54.7	60.3	47.0
Females	55.5	57.9	53.8	61.1	50.4
Black	31.4	35.6	35.6	35.4	18.4
Males	30.1	34.4	34.5	33.7	16.9
Females	32.4	36.6	36.5	36.9	19.8
Spanish Origin	32.0	33.1	30.4	38.0	26.5
Males	33.2	34.6	32.4	38.5	26.6
Females	30.9	31.8	28.6	37.7	26.4

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Social and Economic Characteristics of the Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population: 1974 and 1970*, Table 9, September 1975.

Table 7

Percent of Persons 25 Years and Over Who Are High School Graduates, Metro and Nonmetro, 1974

Race and Sex	All	Metro	Central City	Outside Central City	Nonmetro
All Races					
Both Sexes	61.2	64.7	59.8	68.5	53.9
Males	61.6	65.6	61.3	68.8	53.2
Females	60.9	63.8	58.5	68.2	54.5
White	63.3	66.8	63.0	69.3	56.2
Male	63.6	67.7	64.9	69.5	55.3
Female	63.0	65.9	61.3	69.1	57.0
Black	40.8	45.9	45.2	48.5	24.5
Male	39.9	44.9	44.0	48.0	23.6
Female	41.5	46.7	46.2	48.7	25.2
Spanish Origin	36.5	38.2	33.8	45.0	28.1
Male	38.3	40.8	37.0	46.6	24.7
Female	34.9	35.8	31.1	43.2	30.8

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Social and Economic Characteristics of the Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population: 1974 and 1970*, Table 9, September 1975.

[a] May be of any race.

Table 8

School Enrollment Status of the Population
By Race, Residence, Age
October, 1973

Residence and Age	% Enrolled in School			% Not Enrolled in School					
				% H. S. Grads.			% Not H. S. Grads.		
	All Races	Black	White	All Races	Black	White	All Races	Black	White
Metro, Total									
Age 14-15	97.6	96.3	97.7	0.1	0.3	0.1	2.3	3.4	2.2
16-17	89.1	84.3	89.3	2.7	2.4	3.9	8.2	9.8	8.0
18-19	44.7	17.5	45.3	39.8	36.5	37.0	15.5	25.5	13.9
20-21	31.8	1.2	33.0	53.5	49.2	32.1	14.8	28.3	12.5
Central City									
Age 14-15	97.2	97.0	97.2	0.1	- -	0.2	2.7	3.0	2.6
16-17	86.9	87.9	86.5	2.6	2.0	2.8	10.5	10.1	10.7
18-19	42.6	36.5	43.6	38.2	36.4	39.4	19.2	27.1	17.1
20-21	31.4	21.8	33.6	50.7	50.3	51.5	17.9	27.9	14.9
Nonmetro									
Age 14-15	97.4	97.8	97.3	- -	- -	0	2.6	2.2	2.7
16-17	86.7	87.2	86.6	2.5	1.0	2.7	10.8	11.8	10.8
18-19	39.0	37.5	39.2	43.8	38.1	44.6	17.2	24.5	16.2
20-21	26.2	13.6	27.5	55.5	48.7	56.1	18.2	37.6	16.4

SOURCE: U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Current Population Reports. Population Characteristics. *Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October, 1973.* Series P-20, No. 272, November 1974.

Table 9

Achievement of Individuals: Standardized Years of Schooling

Region and Race	Adjusted Years of Schooling for Years of Schooling Completed	
	8 Years	12 Years
White		
Urban	8.0	12.0
Northeast	8.0	12.0
North Central	8.0	11.6
South	7.5	11.1
West	7.7	11.5
Nonurban		
Northeast	7.7	11.1
North Central	7.7	11.1
South	7.1	10.5
West	7.7	11.1
Black		
Urban		
Northeast	5.9	8.7
North Central	6.0	8.7
South	5.3	7.8
West	5.6	8.1
Nonurban		
Northeast	5.6	7.8
North Central	5.6	7.8
South	4.6	6.8
West	5.6	7.8

SOURCE: Leonard Weiss and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Black Education, Earnings, and International Migration: Even Newer Evidence*. Reprint 146, Institute for Research on Poverty, Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1975, p. 4.

Table III

National Assessment of Education Progress in Reading, by Age and by Selected Characteristics of Participants: United States

Selected Characteristics of Participants	Participants, by age							
	9-Year-Olds		13-Year-Olds		17-Year-Olds		Young Adults (Ages 25-35)	
	Median Percent Correct	Median Difference[a]	Median Percent Correct	Median Difference[a]	Median Percent Correct	Median Difference[a]	Median Percent Correct	Median Difference[a]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total..................	70.4	....	68.1	....	77.5	....	83.5	....
Region								
Northeast.........	74.2	2.1	70.3	2.1	79.4	1.5	83.0	1.0
Southeast.........	63.8	-5.9	61.9	-4.8	71.6	-4.9	74.3	-8.1
Central...........	74.0	2.9	71.5	2.3	80.4	1.8	84.8	1.3
West................	68.6	-.9	68.2	-.3	75.5	-.1	86.3	2.2
Sex								
Male.................	67.5	-2.4	65.3	-2.5	75.9	-2.0	83.2	.2
Female............	73.1	2.3	71.4	2.3	79.5	1.9	81.0	-.3
Color								
White...............	73.8	2.8	71.8	2.7	79.6	2.2	85.4	2.4
Black...............	51.0	-16.3	49.0	-15.6	56.7	-16.4	62.0	-18.7
Other...............	57.9	-7.4	58.7	-4.0	73.9	-3.5	72.6	-5.4
Parent's Education[b]								
No High School	57.8	-9.1	51.3	-11.9	65.0	-11.1	73.2	-6.5
Some High School	62.7	-4.8	62.2	-4.5	69.9	-6.0	82.4	-.4
High School Graduate	70.7	.7	68.7	.6	78.1	-.3	86.1	2.8
Post High School	78.4	6.8	76.8	6.7	84.8	5.6	90.3	7.9
Unknown.........	65.2	-4.7	54.3	-10.4	67.1	-7.9	59.8	-19.1
Size and Type of Community								
Extreme Rural	64.7	-4.4	60.6	-3.9	....	....	....	....
Extreme Inner City	53.5	-14.3	56.3	-8.1	....	....	....	....
Extreme Affluent Suburbs	80.2	8.4	75.8	5.6	....	....	....	....
Inner-city Fringe	72.2	1.4	66.5	-1.3	....	....	....	....
Suburban Fringe	73.9	2.1	71.4	2.2	....	....	....	....
Medium City...	69.7	.1	68.5	.4	....	....	....	....
Small City.......	69.7	-.6	68.3	-.5	....	....	....	....
Size of Community								
Big City...........	....	....	....	....	77.5	-.7	76.7	-3.6
Big-City Fringe	....	....	....	....	81.7	2.8	85.3	1.8
Medium City....	....	....	....	....	78.6	.4	83.4	.8
Small Place.....	....	....	....	....	74.9	-2.0	83.4	.5

SOURCE: Taken from first-cycle material available in the files of National Assessment of Education Progress, 1860 Lincoln Street, Denver, Colorado 80203. March 1973.

[a] Median differences of group performance from the national performance overall exercises (items).

[b] Highest attained by either parent.

Table 11

National Assessment of Educational Progress
in Writing by Age and by Selected Characteristics of
Participants: United States, 1969

Selected Characteristics of Participants	9-Year-Olds		13-Year-Olds		17-Year-Olds		Young Adults (Ages 25-35)	
	Median Percent Correct	Median Difference [a]	Median Percent Correct	Median Difference [a]	Median Percent Correct	Median Difference [a]	Median Percent Correct	Median Difference [a]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total...............	28.3	.....	55.4	.....	62.5	.....	58.4	.....
Region								
Northeast........	33.0	3.5	60.4	1.8	64.9	.8	61.0	1.9
Southeast........	23.9	-3.1	50.9	-5.1	54.6	-7.8	51.4	-8.1
Central...........	29.0	.8	60.2	6.1	63.6	2.2	59.6	2.9
West...............	22.4	1.5	56.1	-.6	68.2	4.1	55.4	1.4
Sex								
Male...............	22.3	-4.0	51.4	-3.6	57.3	-3.4	50.4	-2.3
Female...........	34.7	4.1	60.9	3.2	67.0	3.0	62.3	2.1
Color								
White...............	31.6	2.6	60.7	3.0	65.2	2.8	60.9	3.2
Black...............	12.3	-12.6	37.2	-13.3	46.7	-19.8	40.8	-18.9
Other...............	15.6	-12.0	39.0	-12.6	53.0	-8.2	45.5	-16.1
Parent's Education [b]								
No High School	19.8	-11.3	41.8	-9.3	47.3	-10.8	47.6	-11.0
Some High School	24.2	-3.3	45.9	-7.6	50.6	-10.7	60.5	-1.9
High School Graduate	26.9	.0	52.4	-2.0	64.0	1.2	59.8	4.9
Post High School	35.1	6.1	65.1	3.5	70.1	6.4	67.9	12.5
Unknown.........	23.7	-4.5	42.2	-6.3	56.3	-11.8	42.2	-21.2
Size and Type of Community								
Extreme Rural	21.5	-4.5	47.1	-6.3	59.7	-4.1	52.3	-6.5
Extreme Inner City	13.3	-19.2	41.4	-10.5	44.8	-10.4	45.7	-10.9
Extreme Affluent Suburbs	37.4	5.8	66.7	7.5	73.5	6.6	71.5	13.2
Inner-city Fringe	21.3	-2.9	56.1	-.4	61.4	-.6	46.5	-8.2
Suburban Fringe	32.2	2.4	59.4	1.8	67.7	3.0	61.5	1.1
Medium City	26.0	2.1	59.8	1.8	65.2	1.6	59.7	.3
Small City	27.2	.6	53.9	-.7	61.9	.0	56.1	-3.2

SOURCE: Taken from first-cycle material available in the files of National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1860 Lincoln Street, Denver, Colorado 80203.

[a] Median differences of group performance from the national performance overall exercises (items).

[b] Highest attained by either parent.

Table 12

National Assessment of Educational Progress in Science, by Age and Selected Charcteristics of Participants: United States, 1970 and 1973

Selected Characteristics of Participants	Participants, by age								
	9-Year-Olds			13-Year-Olds			17-Year-Olds[a]		
	Mean Percent Correct 1970	Mean Percent Correct 1973	Difference, 1970 to 1973	Mean Percent Correct 1970	Mean Percent Correct 1973	Difference, 1970 to 1973	Mean Percent Correct 1970	Mean Percent Correct 1973	Difference, 1970 to 1973
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total	60.6	58.8	-1.8	58.8	56.9	-1.9	64.2	61.9	-2.3
Region									
Northeast	62.9	60.5	-2.0	60.6	59.1	-1.5	66.6	63.7	-2.9
Southeast	55.2	54.8	-.4	55.9	56.1	.2	60.9	60.5	-.4
Central	62.1	60.2	-1.9	61.1	58.4	-2.8	66.0	62.1	-1.9
West	60.8	59.6	-1.6	58.4	55.5	-2.9	64.6	60.7	-3.7
Sex									
Male	61.7	59.9	-1.8	61.0	59.0	-2.0	67.3	64.9	-2.4
Female	59.4	57.7	-1.7	56.7	54.7	-1.9	61.2	59.1	-2.1
Color									
White	63.5	61.9	-1.6	62.0	60.2	-1.8	65.7	63.9	-1.8
Black	46.6	45.6	-1.0	44.0	40.7	-3.3	33.6	32.5	-1.1
Parent's Education[b]									
No High School	52.3	52.8	.5	47.7	48.3	.6	57.1	55.1	-2.0
Some High School	55.0	55.6	.6	51.8	50.9	-.9	59.0	56.2	-2.8
High School Graduate	61.0	59.9	-1.1	57.1	56.6	-.5	62.7	60.7	-2.0
Post High School	66.4	64.5	-1.9	64.2	63.3	-.9	68.2	66.0	-2.2
Size and Type of Community									
Rural	53.8	56.0	2.2	52.2	54.8	2.7	60.6	60.3	-0.3
Low Metropolitan	65.4	65.6	.2	65.6	63.8	-1.8	57.0	54.2	-2.8
High Metropolitan	68.0	65.7	-2.3	64.7	63.7	-1.1	69.2	66.3	-2.9
Main Big City	58.0	57.3	-.7	56.9	56.3	-.6	64.6	59.2	-5.4
Urban Fringe	63.3	60.5	-2.8	61.5	57.6	-3.9	64.6	61.7	-2.9
Medium City	61.2	60.3	-.9	61.1	58.0	-3.0	66.2	62.2	-4.0
Small Places	61.2	59.6	-1.6	59.5	58.1	-1.4	63.5	63.0	-.5

SOURCE: Taken from material available in the files of National Assessment of Education Progress, 1860 Lincoln Street, Denver, Colorado 80203, November 1974.

[a] In-school respondents only.

[b] Highest attained by either parent.

Table 13

Enrollment in Federally Aided Vocational Classes, by Type of Program: United States and Outlying Areas, 1920-1973

Fiscal year	Total	Type of program							
		Agri-culture	Distributive Occupations	Home Economics	Trades and Industry	Health Occupations	Technical Education	Office Occupations	Other Programs
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1920	265, 058	31, 301	....	48, 938	184, 819	....	....	....	....
1930	981, 882	188, 311	....	174, 967	618, 604	....	....	....	....
1940	2, 290, 741	584, 133	129, 433	818, 766	758, 409	....	....	....	....
1942	2, 624, 786	605, 099	215, 049	954, 041	850, 597	....	....	....	....
1944	2, 001, 153	469, 959	181, 509	806, 605	543, 080	....	....	....	....
1946	2, 227, 663	510, 331	174, 672	911, 816	630, 844	....	....	....	....
1948	2, 836, 121	640, 791	292, 936	1, 139, 765	762, 628	....	....	....	....
1950	3, 364, 613	764, 975	364, 670	1, 430, 366	804, 602	....	....	....	....
1952	3, 165, 988	746, 402	234, 984	1, 391, 389	793, 213	....	....	....	....
1954	3, 164, 851	737, 502	220, 619	1, 380, 147	826, 583	....	....	....	....
1956	3, 413, 159	785, 599	257, 025	1, 486, 816	883, 719	....	....	....	....
1958	3, 629, 339	775, 892	282, 558	1, 559, 822	983, 644	27, 423	....	....	....
1960	3, 768, 149	796, 237	303, 784	1, 588, 109	938, 490	40, 250	101, 279	....	....
1962	4, 072, 677	822, 664	321, 065	1, 725, 660	1, 005, 383	48, 985	148, 920	....	....
1964	4, 566, 390	860, 605	334, 126	2, 022, 138	1, 069, 274	59, 006	221, 241	....	....
1966	6, 070, 059	907, 354	420, 426	1, 897, 670	1, 269, 051	83, 677	253, 838	1, 238, 043	....
1968	7, 533, 936	851, 158	574, 785	2, 283, 338	1, 628, 542	140, 987	269, 832	1, 735, 997	49, 297
1970	8, 793, 960	852, 983	529, 365	2, 570, 410	1, 906, 133	198, 044	271, 730	2, 111, 160	354, 135
1972	11, 710, 767	896, 460	640, 423	3, 445, 698	2, 397, 968	336, 652	337, 069	2, 351, 878	1, 304, 619
1973	12, 283, 538	927, 591	738, 547	3, 516, 683	2, 702, 238	421, 075	364, 044	2, 499, 095	1, 114, 265

SOURCES: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, annual reports on *Vocational and Technical Education*; and *Summary Data, Vocational Education, Fiscal Year 1973*.

Table 14

Unemployment Rates by Residence, Sex, Race, and Spanish Origin, 1974, 1970

Race, Age, and Sex	Metro						Nonmetro		Total	
	Total		Central City		Outside Central City		1970	1974	1970	1974
	1970	1974	1970	1974	1970	1974				
All Races										
Male 16-19 Yrs.	11.7	16.7	13.6	18.4	10.3	15.6	10.3	12.3	11.3	15.2
Female 16-19 Yrs.	10.7	15.6	11.7	16.1	9.8	15.2	12.6	14.4	11.2	15.3
Male 20-24 Yrs.	7.0	8.9	7.6	9.9	6.3	8.1	7.2	8.0	7.0	8.6
Female 20-24 Yrs.	6.2	7.7	6.5	9.1	5.8	6.4	8.7	9.5	6.8	8.2
White										
Male 16-19 Yrs.	10.6	14.1	11.8	13.6	10.0	14.4	9.9	10.9	10.4	13.0
Female 16-19 Yrs.	9.6	13.7	9.8	12.5	9.5	14.4	11.6	13.4	10.2	13.6
Male 20-24 Yrs.	6.3	7.8	6.6	8.6	5.9	7.2	6.8	7.2	6.4	7.6
Female 20-24 Yrs.	5.4	6.4	5.4	7.3	5.5	5.8	7.6	8.2	6.0	6.9
Black										
Male 16-19 Yrs.	21.6	36.9	22.4	37.7	18.6	35.3	14.6	24.1	19.3	33.1
Female 16-19 Yrs.	20.1	36.8	20.4	37.1	18.9	--	25.0	--	21.6	34.9
Male 20-24 Yrs.	12.6	18.0	12.7	16.4	12.3	22.8	9.7	14.5	11.9	17.0
Female 20-24 Yrs.	11.4	15.9	11.4	17.6	12.2	11.3	17.3	22.5	12.8	17.2
Spanish Origin										
Male 16-19 Yrs.	15.1	20.3	14.5	18.8	16.0	--	12.0	--	14.6	19.9
Female 16-19 Yrs.	15.2	25.5	16.1	23.9	13.9	--	--	--	15.5	23.6
Male 20-24 Yrs.	7.6	7.2	7.6	5.5	7.5	10.1	9.3	--	7.9	7.9
Female 20-24 Yrs.	7.8	13.0	8.3	12.3	6.9	13.1	10.3	--	8.2	11.1

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Social and Economic Characteristics of the Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population: 1974 and 1970*, Table 11, September 1975.

NOTE: Base less than 75,000.

Table 15

Percent in Civilian Labor Force By Residence, Sex, Race and Spanish Origin, 1974, 1970

Race, Age, and Sex	Metro						Nonmetro		Total	
	Total		Central City		Outside Central City					
	1970	1974	1970	1974	1970	1974	1970	1974	1970	1974
All Races										
Male 16-19 Yrs.	46.8	54.4	45.5	52.5	47.8	55.7	38.8	56.4	45.5	55.1
Female 16-19 Yrs.	36.9	47.8	36.5	45.0	37.2	49.9	30.5	40.2	34.8	45.5
Male 20-24 Yrs.	76.4	79.2	75.0	79.1	77.8	79.3	75.3	83.9	76.1	80.6
Female 20-24 Yrs.	58.4	63.7	59.7	63.6	57.0	63.7	50.6	57.3	56.2	61.8
White										
Male 16-19 Yrs.	48.6	56.5	48.3	57.3	48.8	56.2	44.7	58.0	47.3	57.0
Female 16-19 Yrs.	38.6	51.2	39.3	52.0	38.0	50.7	32.1	41.9	36.4	48.2
Male 20-24 Yrs.	76.7	79.5	75.1	80.0	78.1	79.1	75.4	84.3	76.3	80.9
Female 20-24 Yrs.	58.6	65.0	60.3	66.0	57.0	64.3	50.5	57.8	56.2	62.8
Black										
Male 16-19 Yrs.	35.3	43.7	36.3	40.8	36.3	51.3	31.3	44.3	34.1	43.9
Female 16-19 Yrs.	26.9	28.9	27.4	26.3	25.0	38.7	18.4	26.4	24.5	28.3
Male 20-24 Yrs.	75.9	78.2	76.1	76.6	75.0	82.8	77.5	82.8	76.3	79.5
Female 20-24 Yrs.	57.2	56.5	57.2	56.4	57.7	56.9	52.9	55.1	56.2	56.3
Spanish Origin										
Male 16-19 Yrs.	45.0	49.7	43.9	47.0	46.7	54.2	37.9	47.3	43.6	49.2
Female 16-19 Yrs.	31.4	38.9	30.9	38.9	32.1	38.7	27.7	33.3	30.7	37.9
Male 20-24 Yrs.	82.1	85.3	81.8	83.4	82.5	88.1	78.2	86.9	81.4	85.6
Female 20-24 Yrs.	48.3	53.9	48.2	52.0	49.2	56.4	44.6	48.7	47.6	53.1

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Social and Economic Characteristics of the Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Population: 1974 and 1970*, Table 11, September 1975.

Table 16

Rural Youth under 25 Years of Age in the United States, by Region and Race or Ethnic Groups, 1970.

Numeric Distribution and Proportions among Groups

Region	Total	Race or Ethnic Group			
		White[a]	BLack	Spanish Heritage[a]	Native American
North Central	7, 400, 329 (100.00)	7, 287, 110 (98.47)	63, 237 (0.85)	57, 314 (0.77)	43, 683 (0.59)
Northeast	4, 394, 545 (100.00)	4, 314, 846 (98.18)	17, 698 (0.40)	66.263 (1.50)	6, 353 (0.14)
South	10, 419, 202 (100.00)	8, 114, 718 (77.88)	2, 237, 518 (21.47)	256, 415 (2.46)	59, 301 (0.56)
West	2, 799, 872 (100.00)	2, 546, 675 (90.95)	28, 242 (1.00)	347, 809 (12.42)	145, 076 (5.18)
Total	25, 013, 948 (100.00)	22, 263, 349 (89.00)	2, 346, 695 (9.38)	727, 801 (2.90)	254, 413 (1.01)

SOURCES:

U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, "1970 Census of Population Fourth Count Summary Tape." Processed at Texas A & M University Computer Center.

U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population. Subject Reports, Final Report PC (2) - IF, American Indians.

NOTE: Percentages are shown in parentheses.

[a] Most persons of Spanish Heritage are counted also in the White category, so there is double counting; the sum of the groups will be greater than the total. A smaller number of Spanish Heritage persons are also counted as Black.

SOURCE:

Prairie View A & M University, Cooperative Research Center, *The Ethnic Composition of Rural Youth in the United States: General Characteristics and Regional Comparisons.* Information Report No. 73 - 3, September 1974.

Table 17

Concentration in Minority Schools

-Number and Percent of Minority Students Attending Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Minority Group and by Level of Isolation: United States, [a] Fall 1970 and Fall 1972

Characteristic	Number	Percent	Attendance in Minority Schools						
			0-49.9 Percent Minority	50-100 Percent Minority	80-100 Percent Minority	90-100 Percent Minority	95-100 Percent Minority	99-100 Percent Minority	100 Percent Minority
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total Enrollment, All Students									
1970	44, 910, 403	100.0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
1972	44, 646, 525	100.0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Negro Enrollment									
1970	6, 712, 789	14.9	33.1	66.9	49.4	43.3	38.2	28.0	14.0
1972	6, 796, 238	15.2	36.3	63.7	45.2	39.2	34.8	25.1	11.2
Spanish-surnamed Enrollment									
1970	2, 275, 041	5.1	44.2	55.8	33.1	22.9	16.3	5.8	1.8
1972	2, 414, 179	5.4	43.5	56.5	32.9	23.4	16.0	5.2	1.0
American-Indian Enrollment									
1972	232, 766	0.5	65.4	34.6	23.3	16.4	10.7	2.2	1.7
Oriental Enrollment									
1972	233, 190	0.5	70.6	29.4	11.2	6.7	3.8	1.0	0.1

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights. "Fall 1972 Racial and Ethnic Enrollment in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools."

[a] Excluding Hawaii.

Table 18

Achievement Scores by Race and Ethnic Group

-Estimated Median Achievement Test Scores for 1st and 12th Grade Pupils, by Racial and Ethnic Group: United States, Fall 1965

Test	Racial or Ethnic Group					
	Puerto Rican	Indian American	Mexican American	Oriental American	Black	White
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1st Grade:						
Nonverbal.......	45.8	53.0	50.1	56.6	43.4	54.1
Verbal............	44.9	47.8	46.5	51.6	45.4	53.2
12th Grade:						
Nonverbal......	43.3	47.1	45.0	51.6	40.9	52.0
Verbal...........	43.1	43.7	43.8	49.6	40.9	52.1
Reading.........	42.6	44.3	44.2	48.8	42.2	51.9
Mathematics	43.7	45.9	15.5	51.3	41.8	51.8
General Information	41.7	44.7	43.3	49.0	40.6	52.2
Average of the 5 Tests....	43.1	45.1	44.4	50.1	41.1	52.0

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, Commissioner's report: "Equality of Educational Opportunity," July 2, 1966.

NOTE: This table presents the results of standard achievement tests of certain intellectual skills such as reading, writing, calculating, and problem solving. The tests were designed to measure the skills which are the most important in our society for getting a good job and moving up to a better one, and for full participation in an increasingly technical world.

The scores in each test were standardized so that the average over the national sample equaled 50 and the standard deviation equaled 10. This means that for all pupils in the Nation, about 16 percent would score below 40 and about 16 percent would score above 60.

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CHAPTER 11

FOREIGN AND AMERICAN EXPERIENCE WITH THE YOUTH TRANSITION[1]

Beatrice G. Reubens

INTRODUCTION

During most of the 1960s, youth unemployment was not a major concern of Australia, Japan, or the countries of northwest Europe, and their perceptions of the transition from school to work therefore lack the American emphasis on this aspect. Having lived through earlier periods of high unemployment that overwhelmed programs to ease the movement from school to work, most of these countries believe that full employment conditions and general economic vitality are the key to holding down youth and other unemployment. In fact, rising unemployment is perceived as an external force that is disruptive of efforts to provide effective transition services, and these in turn are seen as having at best a marginal influence on high unemployment rates.

Under the benign influence of a strong demand for young workers, many of these countries have developed elaborate systems of transition services--information, guidance, placement, induction, and follow-up. The purpose of these systems is to facilitate the adjustment of the individual and, in some countries, to meet national manpower needs as well. Labor shortages have given many young people opportunities to choose among jobs and to enter the occupational hierarchy at higher levels than would be possible in less favorable times. For this reason and perhaps because class divisions and traditions are stronger abroad, the American preoccupation with providing adult-type jobs for youth has made only slight inroads.

In Sweden, moreover, where egalitarianism is highly developed, youth are not regarded as discriminated against if they are directed to "beginners'" jobs. If such jobs must be done in society, youth are considered the most suitable candidates, both in terms of their later opportunities and their lesser need for income before they establish families. Equality for women in the labor market takes precedence in any case. Reflecting national attitudes, recent Swedish analyses of the low-income population omit earners under 25 years of age. Given the educational advantage over their elders that most of today's youth enjoy, many Swedes see the problem as one of aiding the older worker and improving work generally. Efforts in this direction, from which young workers also benefit, are said to have reduced new entrants' bias against blue collar jobs.

In some of the foreign nations, new entrants are eagerly sought by employers who are willing to take youngsters without occupational skills or previous work experience; Japan, Great Britain, West Germany, Switzerland, and Austria are among the countries where the transition is eased because employers recruit young people straight from school and provide training for at least a portion of them. This acceptance of youth is less common in Belgium and France, for example, and it is even less visible in the United States, where both employers and trade unions exhibit little interest in absorbing the new entrants to the labor market.

The transition abroad is viewed primarily as a movement from full-time school to full-time work; the significance of vacation and part-time jobs is discounted. The emphasis has been on the sharp and abrupt change in environment for 15-to-16-year-old adolescents facing physical, social, and psychological maturation problems at the same time. In contrast, the American perception, expressed recently by Willard Wirtz in *The Boundless Resource*, is that most of the young people approaching the transition are not only in school but also already in the work force. The Europeans may modify their conception of a once-and-for-all transition as increasing opportunities to return to education are offered in those countries and as more young people hold part-time jobs while attending school. In some countries the academic demands of school together with government financial support to young people who continue education beyond the legal minimum age, especially those in low-income families, limit the number who simultaneously participate in the labor force.

Because we in the United States have equated a good transition primarily with low youth unemployment rates, it is necessary to consider the extent and causes of youth unemployment in the various countries in comparison with the American experience. It is important also to review current experience with the transition in several countries because problems have arisen that resemble those the United States has had for some time. The efficacy of foreign apprenticeship, differential youth wage rates, and transition services will be explored. Finally, the policy initiatives of foreign countries will be described and evaluated in terms of their relevance to the American situation.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

Comparisons of youth unemployment rates rest in the first instance on the differences in overall rates that remain among countries after conceptual and methodological variations in the data are minimized. Table 1 presents the range of total unemployment rates in the period 1960-74 for nine countries, together with the average annual growth rates of GNP, the civilian labor force, civilian employment, and the teenage labor force. Of the three countries with a substantial increase of the labor force, only Australia managed to maintain low unemployment rates. Canada and the United States, unlike Australia, were under pressure from

Table 1

Average Annual Rates of Change in Real GNP, Civilian Labor Force, Civilian Employment, and Teenage Labor Force; and Low and High Total Unemployment Rates, 9 Countries, 1960-74; Projected Annual Rate of Change in Teenage Population, 1965-80, 1975-85

Country	Total Unemployment Rates		Real GNP	Civilian Labor Force	Civilian Employment	Teenage Labor Force[g]	Teenage Population[d]	
	Low	High					1965-80	1975-85
United States	3.5	6.7	3.8	2.0	2.0	4.4	1.5	-1.6
Out-of-School	--	--	--	--	--	3.3[c]	2.8[c]	
In-School	--	--	--	--	--	10.0[c]	4.9[c]	
Australia	1.3	3.0	5.2	2.5[a]	2.5[a]	0.4[a]		.5
Canada	3.6	7.1	5.3	3.0	3.0	4.3	2.0	-1.7
France	1.3	3.1	5.6	1.1	.9	-3.4[h]	-.3	.1
W. Germany	.3	2.1	4.4	0[e]	0[e]	-2.6[i]	2.0	.8
Italy	2.7	4.3	5.1	-.5	-.5	-4.0		1.2
Japan	1.1	1.7	9.5	1.3	1.3	-6.0	-1.8	1.1
Sweden	1.2	2.7	3.8	.8[b]	.7[b]	-2.2[b]	-.9	1.1
Great Britain	2.0	4.2	2.7[f]	.2	.1	1.7[j]	.7[f]	.8

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Office of Productivity and Technology, Division of Foreign Labor Statistics and Trade, supplemented by *Manpower Report of the President* (1975), Tables B-6, B-7; Great Britain, Department of Employment *Gazette* (July 1975), p. 658.

Note: BLS data are adjusted to international concepts. Changes from 1960 to 1974 computed by least squares.

[a] 1964-74.

[b] 1961-74.

[c] 1960-73. October data only. *Manpower Report of the President* (1975), Tables B-6, B-7.

[d] 1965-80. OECD, Conference on Policies for Educational Growth (Paris, 1970), UN.STP(70) 6, Annex III, pp. 121-23.

[e] Negligible.

[f] United Kingdom.

[g] According to national definitions, teenage labor force 15-19, except 14-19 in Italy and 16-19 in U.S., France, Sweden.

[h] March 1963-73.

[i] October 1960-May 1973.

[j] 1961-71. Corrected census of 1961, census of 1971. Department of Employment *Gazette* (July 1975), p. 658.

a fast-growing teenage labor force, which undoubtedly contributed to higher rates of both overall and teenage unemployment. The projected teenage population for 1975-85 shows a reversal of position among the countries, with potential effects on unemployment.

The low unemployment rates of the European countries and Japan from 1960 to 1974 were achieved under conditions of slow or negative growth of the total and the teenage labor force, even after foreign workers are counted. Indeed, it is often overlooked that these countries created relatively fewer net new jobs than did the countries that had high unemployment rates. Among the latter, the United States had an unusually high rate of job creation in view of its low rate of increase of GNP. Qualitative differences in the type of jobs created are related to the amount and incidence of unemployment. Some countries shifted their labor force from low productivity agriculture to high wage manufacturing, whereas others, like the United States, had the greatest rate of increase in service sector employment, with many part-time, low-level jobs added to the total.

For comparative purposes, the most meaningful measure of teenage unemployment is the ratio of teenage unemployment rates to adult or total unemployment rates. Although there is less objection to using unmodified national statistics in this computation than in unemployment rates as such, it is still true that international comparisons are best made from ratios derived from unemployment rates that have been standardized according to international definitions. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has pioneered in this work; Table 2 presents the available data which unfortunately are not reliably comparative before 1968. Even in the standardized version, it should be noted that the lower age limit for teenagers varies somewhat. Possibly the Italian figures should be adjusted to exclude 14-year-olds, who are legally allowed to leave school but may not be legally employed until they reach 15; as a consequence 14-year-olds show unemployment rates of over 40 percent.

The ratios in Table 2 indicate that the United States and Italy were at the high end of the range in 1968 and 1970. But more recently the ratios have exhibited a rising trend in other countries, notably Australia and Sweden, which surpassed the U.S. by 1974, as indicated by Table 2; also in France, Britain, The Netherlands, Finland, and other countries, according to national data. This trend has caused concern in several countries about new youth problems, described below in greater detail.

Unemployment rates capture inadequately the full range of unemployment difficulties experienced by youth. A full assessment would also include comparative data, presently hard to come by, on the duration of unemployment, changes in labor force participation rates, involuntary part-time work, and underemployment. These factors are of particular interest during a cyclical downturn, when youth in many countries are disproportionately affected. At this point, however, comparative information is available chiefly about youth unemployment rates.

Table 2

Teenage Unemployment Rates and the Ratios of Teenage to Adult (25-54) Unemployment Rates in 9 Countries, 1960-75.

Country	Age	Teenage Unemployment Rates (annual av.)						Ratio of Teenage to Adult (25-54) Unemployment Rates					
		1960	1965	1968	1970	1974	1975	1968	1970	1972	1973	1974	1975
United States	16-19	14.7	14.8	12.7	15.3	16.0	20.7[h]	5.5	4.5			4.2	3.1[h]
Out-of-School[a]	16-19	15.6	13.3	12.5	17.2	14.6							
In-School[a]	16-19	10.0	10.9	10.9	15.7	19.4							
Australia	15-19			4.2	3.9	6.9		4.2	3.9			4.6	
Canada	15-19	13.1[c]	8.8[c]	11.3	14.3	12.2		3.1	3.3			3.2	
France	16-19	6.6[k]	5.1[k]	7.6[g]	7.0[g]			4.0	3.9				
W. Germany[f]	15-19			3.8[f]	2.0	1.8		3.5	4.0		3.6		
Italy	14-19	9.3	10.3	13.6	12.9	18.4		6.2	7.2	9.7			
Japan	15-19	1.5[b]	1.5[b]	2.3	2.0	2.6		2.3	2.2			2.4	
Sweden	16-19		2.9	5.6	4.5	6.8	5.7[i]	3.3	4.1			5.2	6.3[i]
Great Britain[d]	15-19	0.8	1.3	3.0	4.4	4.2[e]			2.1[j]				

SOURCE: National data for 1960, 1965, 1975. For 1968-74 (except British unemployment rates), U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Office of Productivity and Technology, Division of Foreign Labor Statistics and Trade.

Note: 1968-74 data adjusted to international concepts, except for British unemployment rates.

[a] October data only for 1960-70. *Manpower Report of the President* (1975), Tables B-6, B-7. Data for 1974 is annual average. *Monthly Labor Review* (November 1975), p. 8.

[b] Office of the Prime Minister, Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Report on the Labor Force* (Tokyo, 1969).

[c] 14-19. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Special Surveys Division, unpublished.

[d] Males only in July. Manpower Services Commission, *There's Work to be Done* (London: HMSO, 1974), p. 28.

[e] 1973.

[f] Data for April in 1968 and 1970 and May 1973. April 1968 rate may be too high due to change in date of ending school year.

[g] Data for March.

[h] Average January-September 1975.

[i] Second quarter 1975.

[j] April 1971.

[k] 14-19.

Teenage unemployment rates, as shown in Table 2, suggest some positive correspondence to the rate of change in the teenage labor force (Table 1) and the teenage share of the labor force (Table 3). But several countries with a negative or low teenage labor force growth and a small proportion of the labor force in the teenage category--for example, France, Italy, and Sweden--have substantial youth unemployment. For the United States, the interesting feature is the closing of the gap between the unemployment rates of in-school and out-of-school youth; in 1974, as Table 2 indicates, the in-school rate surpassed the out-of-school rate, reversing the historical trend.

The American concern with employment and unemployment among in-school youth is unmatched elsewhere. No other country has so large a proportion of those in school also in the labor force during the school year or counts them so meticulously, even if they work a few hours a week. Some countries count students as in the labor force when they seek or hold vacation jobs, but others omit even these students, and few actually count them during the school year. Thus, in most countries, teenagers are of no concern unless they have left school. As Table 4 indicates, many countries have substantially higher proportions of the age group out of school than is evident in the United States.

Over the years, the trend in the U.S. has been for a sharper rise in the number of in-school teenagers who are included in the labor force than has occurred among out-of-school youth (from 1,492,000 in 1955 to 4,360,000 in 1973 for the enrolled, against 2,640,000 in 1955 to 3,949,000 in 1973 for the nonenrolled). Table 3 indicates how much of the pressure for jobs comes from the in-school teenagers and how it has grown since 1960, while the share of the labor force attributable to out-of-school teenagers was lower in 1974 than it had been in 1960. If all American in-school teenagers who were reported as unemployed in October 1973 were removed from the ranks of the unemployed, the total number of teenage unemployed would be decreased by almost 54 percent; the annual average unemployment data for 1974 show a smaller reduction, 35 percent.

The importance of the American in-school teenage labor force is indicated in a comparison with Great Britain. If in-school teenagers are not counted as part of the labor force, the 1972 participation rate of American 16-to-17-year-olds declines from 39.4 percent to 6.6 percent. But a similar calculation for 15-to-17-year-olds in Britain in 1972 reduces the participation rate much less: from 66.2 percent to 50 percent.

Certainly, for comparative purposes, all American data should distinguish between in-school and out-of-school teenagers. But it can also be argued that it is time for American policy to take a hard look at the distinct characteristics and needs of the two groups and to consider the possibility of separate treatment on a larger scale than has heretofore been attempted. Given the size and intractability of the youth unemployment problem in the United States, the competition for jobs between the two groups, the community needs that youth can meet through organized job creation, and the social costs of idleness, it would seem useful to divide the teenagers according to their educational status.

Another division that suggests itself, both for statistical and policy purposes, and for all countries, not just the United States, is between younger and older teenagers. The under-18s have a different experience in most countries than the 18-to-19-year-olds. In fact, most countries did in the past make such a distinction in their data collection. Unfortunately, under the impact of American and international agency statistical influence, a good deal of this information no longer is processed, and all the under-20s are put in a single group. The major difference between the two age groups in the United States is that the overwhelming proportion

Table 3

Teenagers as a Percentage of the Labor Force, 9 Countries, 1960, 1970, 1974, and Estimate for 1980

Country	Age	1960	1970	1974	1980 est.
United States	16-19	7.0	8.8	9.7	8.2[i]
Out-of-School	16-19	4.2	3.9	2.8[g]	
In-School	16-19	2.8	4.9	6.9[g]	
Australia	15-19	14.3[a]	12.1	11.5	
Canada	15-19	9.4	9.7	11.1	
France	16-19	8.0[b]	6.2	5.1	
W. Germany	15-19	11.0	8.4	7.7	
Italy	14-19	12.2	8.1	7.2	
Japan	15-19	10.1	5.9	3.6	
Sweden	16-19	8.8[d]	5.7	5.9	5.1[h]
Great Britain	15-19	10.9[e]	8.6[e]		7.1[f]

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Office of Productivity and Technology, Division of Foreign Labor Statistics and Trade.

Note: BLS data are adjusted to international concepts.

[a] 1964.

[b] March 1963 and March 1973.

[c] May 1973.

[d] 1961.

[e] Censuses of 1961 and 1971. Department of Employment *Gazette* (October 1975), p. 982.

[f] Estimate for 16-19 in 1981. Department of Employment *Gazette* (December 1975), p. 1260.

[g] *Monthly Labor Review*, (November 1975), Table 5, p. 8.

[h] 15-19. Central Statistical Bureau (SCB), *Labour Resources 1965-1990 Forecasting Information*, 1971:5, p. 70, Appendix Table E.

[i] Denis F. Johnston, "The U.S. Labor Force: Projections to 1990," *Monthly Labor Review* (July 1973), Table 1.

Table 4

Percentage of 16-to-19-Year-Olds in Educational Institutions, All Levels, Both Sexes, Selected Countries, Recent Year, 1966-72

Country	Year	Age			
		16	17	18	19
United States	1970	94.1	86.9	58.1	45.4
Australia	1972	54.9	36.3	18.0	10.7
Belgium	1969	70.8	52.8	36.7	25.6
Canada	1970	87.1	69.0	45.5	30.3
France	1970	62.6	45.5	30.6	21.8
W. Germany	1969	31.3	19.2	12.9	9.6
Italy	1966	33.6	27.4	19.7	11.0
Japan	1970	80.0	74.8	29.5	22.0
Netherlands	1972	68.7	46.3	28.8	18.3
Norway	1970	71.0	50.3	40.6	28.9
Sweden	1972	73.7	60.7	40.7	24.0
United Kingdom	1970	41.6	25.9	17.4	13.7

SOURCE: OECD, *Educational Statistics Yearbook*, vol. 2, Country Tables, (Paris), 1975, *passim*.

of 16-to-17-year-olds are in school (89.3 percent in October 1973 and 63.2 percent for the whole year 1974). But most 18-to-19-year-olds are *out* of school (57.1 percent in October 1973 and 68.2 percent for the whole year 1974). Moreover, 83.4 percent of the 16-to-17-year-olds in the labor force in October 1973 and 46.4 percent throughout 1974 were also in school, against under 30 percent for the 18-to-19-year-olds in October 1973 and only 16.4 percent in 1974. More of the 16-to-17-year-old unemployed are in school than out, but the reverse is true of 18-to-19-year-olds. Such differences are significant enough to warrant separate policy initiatives for the two age groups, apart from differences in treatment according to educational status.

American interest in minority youth is stronger than is the concern in other countries. In fact, other countries have little to teach us on this subject, either because they have few problems or because they have not yet recognized or researched them. Britain has followed us closely in awareness and action on their minority youth, whose problems are a mixture of racial discrimination and immigrant status. Many British were disturbed to learn through their 1971 census that teenagers born in the West Indies had an unemployment rate of 16.9 percent, while all teenagers had a 7.6 percent rate. This ratio is of the same order as the American ratios between white and nonwhite teenage unemployment rates in recent years.

Differences in youth unemployment rates according to sex and residence concern most countries. It is difficult to say why girls in one group of countries consistently have lower unemployment rates than boys, while in another group of countries the reverse is true. The lack of service sector jobs, family attitudes influencing girls to remain at home, less geographical mobility, more leisurely job search, and similar factors have been suggested as explanations for higher rates for girls in France.

Almost universally, rural youth are seen as at a disadvantage and have higher unemployment rates even after large numbers of them have moved out of the countryside. The large regional differences that are a serious problem in most other countries are less apparent and certainly less discussed in factual or policy terms in the United States. Some of the foreign countries have developed noteworthy programs to cope with the needs of youth, usually over 18, who must move elsewhere.

NEW ENTRANTS

Thus far the comparative information presented on teenage unemployment has not distinguished between new entrants and other young people. Yet the concept of the transition implies that special attention should focus on the experience of those who are seeking their first full-time jobs after leaving full-time education.

The data on new entrants--while not so complete, recent, or comparable as might be desired--are valuable because they depict the situation of the entire cohort of new entrants, not just the unemployed segment, and provide a longitudinal instead of a cross-sectional view. My comparative analysis of these data, focusing on the length of time taken by new entrants, to locate their first full-time jobs, yields the following findings:

- A substantial proportion of teenagers enter their first jobs without suffering any unemployment at all. Since the jobs they locate while they are still at school appear to be equal to or better than those found by comparable classmates after leaving school, doubt is cast on the theoretical job-search model that assumes the necessity for unempoyment as the setting for job search.

- Countries vary markedly in the proportion of young people who succeed in prearranging their first jobs and thus avoid entrance unemployment. Among the countries for which data are available, Japan and Great Britain are outstanding in the consistently high proportion of prearranged first jobs. The active interest shown by employers in recruiting new entrants and the existence of formal training arrangements are the primary factors, but it is also important that the social atmosphere and views of parents, young people, and the community encourage a prompt entrance to work after school ends. The timing of the end of school, especially in the Japanese case where the term ends in the spring, permits jobs to be started at once; on the Continent, the closing down of large portions of the economy during July or August induces many young people to delay the permanent job search for several months, relying on temporary vacation jobs even after they have left school. Although the impact is difficult to measure, the presence of relatively strong, comprehensive and employment-oriented transition services, including placement assistance, appears to be conducive to prearrangement. Finally, a favorable economic climate encourages prearrangement, whether we compare successive periods or various regions or types of labor markets, within a single country or among countries.

- The length of time taken to find the first full-time job is positively related to the level of job sought and inversely to the readiness to accept a temporary solution until something better is available. Teenagers with more than the minimum education are more likely to delay their acceptance of a first job than are early school-leavers, whose options and ambitions are more restricted. A downward revision of occupational aims may shorten job-search time, and so may a wider geographic search area.

- Countries also vary in the proportion of new teenage entrants who take an exceptionally long time to find a first job. Comparing countries with roughly similar conditions, one is led to the conclusion that the existence of strong transition services may shorten the entrance unemployment of the disadvantaged or handicapped youngster, those at the minimum educational level, those whose occupational aims are higher than the achievement of their relatives and peers, and those who cannot find work close to home. The existence of programs for youth beyond the standard transition services--remedial, social service, training, intensive counseling--also plays a role.

Following upon labor market entrance, a second aspect of unemployment in the transition period is job-changing. Again, many analysts stress the unemployed and omit the significant proportion of job-changers who achieve a shift of employers without losing work time, usually because they have arranged for the new job while still on the old one. The following conclusions may be drawn on job-changing:

- A tight labor market fosters both higher rates of voluntary job-changing and higher proportions of job-changers who experience no unemployment.

- Voluntary job-changers tend to have less unemployment than those who are dismissed, whether for personal behavior or economic reasons. The ratio between voluntary and involuntary job-changing, therefore, is an important predictor of unemployment associated with job-changing.

- American teenagers who are full time in the labor market appear to change jobs somewhat more frequently than do youngsters in other countries, allowing for differences in the tightness of labor markets. A suspected but unmeasured differential is the willingness and economic ability of teenagers in various countries to abstain from job search between jobs.

- In most countries. teenagers in formal training positions, such as apprenticeship, tend to leave jobs less frequently than do others, at least during the training period.

- Youngsters in other countries may accept and remain with inferior jobs in the secondary labor market more readily than American youth, but when they do leave such jobs they experience less unemployment between jobs than American youth.

There is a great need for more longitudinal data and analysis for a whole cohort of new entrants through their first years in the labor market in individual countries and across countries. The Ohio State University longitudinal studies of youth and some of the educational follow-up studies have the potential of providing this information for the United States. It should then be possible to discuss the transition and its accompanying unemployment more accurately.

TRANSITION PROBLEMS

It has been indicated above that several countries have observed a deterioration in the relative position of youth in recent years and an emergence of education and employment problems among specific groups of teenagers. Certainly there still are other developed countries that have fewer, different, and less severe transition problems that does the United States; an array of countries according to the difficulty of the transition might still place the United States and Italy at the high end. But in the harsh light of 1975, as new structural problems have been intensified by deep recession in several countries, it appears that the favorable experience of the 1960s may become increasingly irrelevant as other countries discover American-type difficulties and, in a sense, catch up to us. Of course, not all countries have reached this stage, and some, Denmark and West Germany for example, are treating the issue as cyclical, soon to be eliminated by a return of favorable conditions. However, analyses by academics in these countries identify more deep-seated problems, akin to those we describe.

Evidence of widespread concern about the transition is provided by current studies and proposals on youth by the international agencies.[2] These reports are reminiscent of the earlier flurry of interest in youth problems when the 1967-68 European recession intensified the pressure of the postwar baby boom generation. But the current documents, especially, from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), reflect a more profound unease about alienation of youth from the adult world, deficiencies in the preparatory process, weaknesses of transition services, inadequacies of the employment world that youth enter, and uncertainty about future economic developments. Unemployment is only one aspect of the problem.

Even more telling is the growing attention in individual countries to the changing position of young people who leave school at the minimum legal age, often without earning diplomas or taking examinations. To be sure, several foreign countries also are troubled by the employment problems of upper secondary and university graduates, especially those majoring in the arts or the humanities. But the main focus of policy is on the young school-leavers who enter work directly. The situation of this group and the numbers involved vary from country to country according to the structure of the educational system and the training-employment opportunities open to those who leave school at the earliest time permitted by law.

In Great Britain, where compulsory schooling ends at 16 and most young people enter work at that age, the problem group has been identified as those boys and girls who start work early, usually have no academic qualifications, and receive little or no training in their initial jobs. Constituting a high proportion of all under-18s who annually enter work from school, this group engages in simple, monotonous jobs offering little prospect of advancement. Certain subgroups have particularly severe transition problems that are not defined solely in terms of higher unemployment rates; British analyses have pinpointed minority youth, the disabled, the educationally subnormal, delinquents, and those whose attitudes or behavior create employment difficulties.

France terminates compulsory schooling at 16, but a majority of young people go on to do further studies. Many enroll in public or private vocational education or enter apprenticeships that can lead to specialized occupational certificates, achieved through government controlled examinations. The problem group, therefore, is first of all those who enter the labor market with no education or training beyond compulsory school. About one-fourth of young people who annually enter the labor market have been placed in this category, but more recent data for mid 1974 suggest that it may be as little as 6 percent. In addition, those under 18 who drop out of their vocational classes or fail to pass the occupational examinations are classified as likely to have trouble. At any educational level, French research has concluded, ease of entry into working life is more closely related to prior acquisition of specific occupational skills than it is to the level of educational achievement. Other studies of French youth stress the "allergy to work," the "marginalization" of youth, the indifference to choice of occupation, and the dislike of blue collar work.

Sweden's recently reorganized educational system established a unified upper secondary school to follow the 9-year compulsory school that ends at 16. Anticipating that 90 percent of the 16-year-old group would complete at least a two-year course offering occupational preparation in upper secondary school, planners confined the compulsory school curriculum to general education. Research indicates, however, that 25 to 30 percent of the 16-year-olds now leaving compulsory school do not proceed directly to upper secondary school, and that 15 percent of those who do enter immediately drop out in fairly short order. Although considerable numbers seem to return to school, their intervening labor market experience is difficult, and they, especially the girls, are considered a problem group.

In Canada, the difficulties affecting youth who leave school before achieving a high school certificate are aggravated by severe regional disparities in opportunity. In the Atlantic provinces particularly, it is taken for granted that youth must migrate; in other provinces, rural youth also must leave home to find work; and the influx into prosperous British Columbia of youth from the east is said to be excessive, increasing the area's youth unemployment. Regional employment problems are serious for youth in France, Great Britain, and other countries as well.

Norway, whose compulsory schooling has recently been raised by two years to age 16, has encountered a problem group even before compulsory school ends. About 20 percent of the 14- and 15-year-olds have been identified as deeply resistant to the prolongation of school. They are considered to be a present educational problem and a potential labor market problem.

The country profiles sketched above are indicative of some common conditions, familiar also in the United States. Without exaggerating the uniformity among countries, it can be said that the prolongation of education, whether voluntarily or by statute, has left a residual group that, for a variety of reasons, is unwilling or unable to complete more than a minimum of schooling. They are disadvantaged even within the category "working class," the traditional European designation for limited opportunity.

Besides those who do not achieve the minimum academic qualifications, disadvantaged youth commonly include the physically and mentally handicapped; those with social or psychological inadequacies; members of ethnic, racial, or cultural minorities; immigrants with language and cultural difficulties; and residents of rural, isolated, or depressed areas. Of course, there is considerable overlap among the groups, and multidisadvantaged youth have gained attention in a number of countries.

The European perception of the problem group is narrower than the American, expressed in the coverage of this book, which designates the group at risk as all young people who do not plan or who will not complete a four-year college education. Other countries are focusing on a younger, less educated, and more particular segment. It is possible that the American net has been cast too wide and that Europeans would consider a substantial part of our high school graduates successful in the transition.

Explanations of the emergence of the problem groups in Europe stress changes in the labor market for youth. The decline of employment in industries and occupations that disproportionately attracted youth with low academic attainment, as well as the elimination of youth jobs, such as messenger, "butcher boy," "tea boy," has been singled out in Britain. In Sweden, only temporary, fill-in jobs are said to be available for those under 18 who have not completed at least the two-year upper secondary course; the recent labor market entry of large numbers of older women has been adverse to young girls. While many new youth jobs have been created, especially in the service sector, these jobs usually require higher academic skills and are not a substitute for the low-level entry jobs that absorbed those early school-leavers who obtained no diplomas or passed no examinations.

It has also ben noted in Britain that the valuable post of junior operative, formerly open to 15-year-olds and leading to skilled status, is disappearing or is reserved for 18-year-olds. As continuous processes, shift work, weekend work, and heavy capital investment become common in manufacturing, employers have raised the minimum age of recruitment (although not to 21, as is reported to be the minimum in the United States), asked for higher academic credentials, or required prior training or work experience. Apprenticeship openings have declined drastically in West Germany, and the number of apprentices in training has decreased in Great Britain in construction, shipbuilding, and engineering, the most important industries for apprenticeship.

Moreover, such apprenticeship programs as those for British girls in hairdressing, and many of the German programs that place youngsters in small stores, workshops, offices, or artisan trades, are being challenged as offering poor training, inadequate pay for production work, and no real future in the chosen occupations, necessitating job changes during or after apprenticeship.

The developments in European apprenticeship suggest that as businesses are increasingly organized on American lines and as young people stay in school beyond 16, the desire of employers to train young people as well-rounded craftsmen in formal programs will diminish. Such aid in the transition as youth obtained in countries where apprenticeship or formal training programs have been well established (by no means all European countries), may become less significant, in manufacturing especially. Some European countries now seek to create modified or substitute mechanisms rather than trying to expand traditional apprenticeship. Although we may not have reached the upper limit of American apprenticeship in the fields where it is viable, we should beware of enthusiasts who call for an extension of apprenticeship into occupations where it has never existed in the United States and where it is now disputed in Europe.

The attitudes toward training and work of some young people also are cited as a barrier to employment in several countries, though the issue is not confined to any particular educational level. In any case, the dirty, menial work that is distasteful to youth are the jobs most likely to be offered to the problem group. It is unclear how important the attitudinal factor is in youth unemployment when the demand for young workers is strong. The admittedly superior information and guidance services abroad have not succeeded in altering the attitudes or behavior of this segment of youth . Deliberate abstention from the conventional labor force has been a negligible factor everywhere except perhaps in the United States and France.

Another development abroad that has adversely influenced the position of new entrants in general and disadvantaged youth in particular is the growth of protective legislation and practices that guarantee employment security for workers already employed. In the European countries where such measures are most advanced, employers hesitate before hiring new workers because they will be virtually bound to keep them for life. Swedish labor market experts have spoken of the unintended creation of internal labor markets as a result of such legislation and of its inhibiting effects on an active labor market policy as well as its adverse effects on new entrants.

The costs of employing young workers abroad have also changed. During the period when foreign teenage unemployment rates and ratios appeared to be definitely lower than ours, American analysts sought explanations in foreign institutions.[3] Among the factors singled out, other countries' systems of differential wage rates for youth were prominent. The legal provisions, traditions, and collective bargaining contracts that stated that youth of various ages should receive a fixed percentage of adult wage rates were frequently cited as evidence that Japanese and European youth represented relatively cheaper labor for their nations' employers than did American youth under our uniform minimum wage act.

These comparisons failed to provide evidence on several critical points: the actual earnings of youth abroad, the trends in those earnings, and the ratio of earnings of American youth to those of adults.

Preliminary comparative study of youth earnings abroad suggest the following conclusions:

- Despite the existence of various types of fixed wage differentials for youth in foreign countries, the actual postwar movement of earnings has been more in favor of youth than of any other age groups. The upward trend of youth wage rates and earnings has proceeded steadily and has been only slightly retarded in periods of recession. In Great Britain, the average hourly earnings of boys of 15 to 21 have moved from about 35 percent of adult male earnings in 1947 to 44 percent in 1959 to well over 50 percent in recent years.

- Youth earnings in the United States probably are not a higher percentage of adult earnings than is the case in other advanced nations, though comparable, detailed data are scarce.

- Several countries report a growing reluctance on the part of employers to hire young workers because there already may be a cost disadvantage if training and induction costs are included. Dutch and Swedish employers have cited the rising relative wage costs of youthful workers as an obstacle to their employment.

- Apprentice wages in Britain have in some cases equaled or exceeded those of comparable young workers. In other countries where apprentices are paid educational allowances, these have risen so sharply that they seem competitive with wages.

- A recent British finding that employers do not consciously consider wage costs for young people when fixing their recruitment policies, presents an attitude that may be rare among American employers. Japanese employers appear to react much as the British do, though they have organized to hold down the advance of youth wages.

- American theorizing about minimum wages and the potential increase of employment that might result from introducing youth differentials has paid too little attention to the extent to which actual youth earnings have come to exceed the legal minimum. Foreign experience suggests that the efficacy of legal or negotiated wage differentials for youth is limited when economic and social forces exert upward pressures on actual youth earnings.

This brief survey of some changes in the youth labor market and in the institutions that had been credited with easing the transition from school to work suggests that foreign experience must be weighed carefully. Backward glances at the conditions of the mid 1960s are largely irrelevant. If some countries still seem to operate according to the rules of an earlier time, they are either lagging behind or are so special that their experience cannot be taken as a general model. At the same time, in those countries that are now experiencing structural difficulties among youth the situation has not yet developed fully; they are still in the midst of exploring their situation and what can be done about it.

FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES
DEALING WITH TRANSITION PROBLEMS

In examining the policies of foreign countries directed toward problems of transition, preference will be given to programs that deal with structural rather than cyclical issues, although in practice the two overlap and intermingle. It also is desirable to draw more heavily from the policies of countries whose problems are akin to those of the United States, even though their policy initiatives are still at the experimental stage.

The most advanced European countries are not notable for discussing or implementing ideas that are unknown in the United States. On the contrary, they have paid particular attention to American experience and programs because we have had more time in which to confront the difficulties that they have recognized only in the past few years. It is fairly easy for the informed visitor to these countries to identify programs whose inspiration comes from across the Altantic or that are similar to ours although independently derived.

Where some of these countries do differ from us is in the greater commitment to full employment, the attempt to address basics issues rather than rely on patch-up approaches, the intensity of their effort, the important role of the central government, the pooled and cooperative action of the relevant departments of government, the application to the entire country of tested principles while allowing for local variations, the comprehensive and interlocking programs on all aspects of the transition, the close resemblance between announced and delivered programs, and active participation by employers and trade unions.

For all that, no other country's programs are transferable intact to the United States; they can be examined more profitably in individual segments within a broad view of the transition. One may discuss separately issues and policies that arise during the preparatory stage, in the transition services, and at full-time entry into the labor force.

Preparation for Work

- Recognition that school-weariness affects a significant proportion of young people has led to various plans to relieve some 14-, 15-, or 16-year-olds of the standard kind of education. The pervasive rejection of school in other countries calls into question our expectation that all young people should be willing to remain in school, even in the types that do not rely wholly on the classroom, until they are 18. At a minimun, the legal leaving age of 16 in most states should coincide with the end of a recognized stage of education, instead of signifying dropping out. It is admittedly difficult to devise acceptable alternatives to school for all who might prefer them.

Norway is experimenting with placing 14-year-olds with employers, providing some basic education on a part-time basis, and permitting those who complete that program to obtain leaving certificates from compulsory school that entitle them to continue their education at the next level. France has a preapprenticeship year in which youngsters are supposed to spend half the day in school and half the day with an employer, who presumably will subsequently offer them a regular apprenticeship contract. Complaints have been heard that many youngsters simply end up with half-time school, having failed to arrange apprenticeship places. Any arrangements involving employers as supplements to the educational system require careful supervision by the educational authorities. In their disillusion with school, many influential Americans have expressed uncritical and unfounded faith in the work place as a substitute.

In Sweden the authorities are devising new types of school courses to attract and hold the 16-year-olds who are now avoiding upper secondary school or dropping out. Presumably these courses will be shorter than the regular ones, perhaps three month units offering credit that can be cumulated, even with interruptions of school. Arrangements for practical experience also are being worked out to suit the restless young people who constitute the problem group. The Swedish opinion is that completion of the equivalent of two years of upper secondary education is an indispensable requirement for survival and progress in the coming labor market. It remains to be seen whether the opportunity to complete this education over a longer time period with approved breaks will reduce the hostility to school as an institution representing childhood. West Germany's recession program for unemployed young school-leavers who lack academic credentials offers a second chance to achieve a diploma; but it has attracted few youngsters, even with the promise that successful candidates would be assisted to obtain apprenticeship places that require the acedemic credentials. A similar program in France has had a poor response, even with a monthy payment to young people.

In the long run, the most serious and intractable problem may be the conflict between the desire to prepare every youth to rise above a dead-end job and the inability to instill the required qualifications. This failure may forestall the need to come to grips with the equally troubling questions: How can enough "good" jobs be provided and who will do the necessary but menial tasks?

- The institution of several graduation dates throughout the year and particularly the gearing of these dates to periods when permanent jobs are most likely to be available and vacation job-seekers are not on the scene would be a sensible change from the long-standing and outmoded timing of the school year to fit agricultural needs. Sweden has introduced staggered release dates for its military conscripts and is considering the same for schools.

- The best American cooperative education efforts are in advance of most European practice and have been studied by such groups as the Swedish Employers' Association. Work experience as a method of preparing for and obtaining full-time employment also is more highly developed in the United States than it is abroad.

- Community service projects as a means of occupying in-school youth or idealistic young people out-of-school have been developed in various countries, but Canada has been cited for its variety and success with these. The most recent recession budget, however, eliminated funds for some programs.

- Vocational education is debated everywhere. The question of when, where, and how to provide occupational skills is under active discussion in many countries. Some attention might be given to the experience of the Swedish upper secondary school with its occupationally specialized programs superimposed on an academic core that, permits university entrance; and its new program for "Praktik," which provides practical experience in industry prior to taking up full-time work.

Transition Services

- The necessity for effective transition services--information, guidance, placement, induction, and follow-up--is generally recognized, but wide differences exist in the scope of services, the resources, staffing, organization, and activities. The countries that seem to have the most effective services--Japan, West Germany, Sweden--offer a comprehensive list of services, organize the transition from the national government down, do not rely on independent schools and their personnel to initiate and carry out activities without outside supervision, use bridging agencies that strongly involve the labor market authorities, and integrate youth services with those for adults.

Martin Feldstein's repeated recommendation[4] that the United States should introduce the British system of a separate, specialized transition service for youth that is independently organized by the local education authorities is open to criticism on several counts. It is based on inaccurate and outdated information about the British system; it ignores the dissatisfaction within Britain; it assumes greater impact by these transition services on youth unemployment than the purveyors and analysts of the services would claim; and it seems unaware both of the rejection of the British system by other countries and the more effective models offered elsewhere.

- No matter how superior the transition services of another country may be to those we currently offer, even the best existing programs have serious deficiences. To begin with, it is inherently difficult to provide effective official information and guidance services, especially in competition with the unofficial sources; no one has discovered a reliable way to test the contribution of the official services to the information stock of individuals or to the decisions they make. Still more difficult is the evaluation of the relation between the quantity and the quality of official services and the outcomes for individuals.

Official placement services do not appear to make more rapid or more successful placements than do other sources of finding jobs, but the research designs for the few studies in this area leave room for a revised opinion. On the other hand, the official agencies can collect job information more widely and completely than any other source.

- A second drawback of the transition services is that they are apt to be invoked in situations where their influence is bound to be minor or ineffective. The danger is that more basic and drastic action against youth unemployment, for example, will be tabled, while reliance is placed on improved transition services.

An example from another country of a misplaced emphasis on information and guidance is the Japanese complaint that job-changing by young workers, even without intervening unemployment, is evidence of inadequate guidance services in school. The rate of job-changing is in fact low by comparison with that of other advanced countries, but it is in conflict with the Japanese ideal of lifetime employment with the first employer. Ignoring the economic advantages that have accrued to the job-changers in periods of high labor demand and fast-rising earnings for young workers, the official Japanese analysts have seen only a need for improved guidance for young people. Similarly, our calls for community education-work councils, and better matching of vacancies and job-seekers, useful though these may be in general, are inadequate and inappropriate responses to a situation of chronic insufficiency of jobs for youth in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

- A third problem for the transition services is that they tend to treat all youngsters equally. Yet those who have the least need for these services because they have access to other assistance are most likely to seek out, respond to, and benefit from the official services, while the most needy in terms of background and resources are likely to reject or absorb little of the services they are offered. There is a clear need to provide more and different services to disadvantaged youth within the framework of the transition services available to all.

A recent Swedish innovation is called Extended or Modified SYO, where SYO means an integrated educational and occupational information and guidance service. It is designed to provide active follow-up of all young people who at 16 do not enter or drop out of upper secondary school. All community agencies that deal with young people are drawn into the effort, which is directed by the SYO personnel in the schools and the local employment service. If this program proves successful in the trial communities it will be extended. It is a way of giving the disadvantaged, criminal, delinquent, alcohol- or drug-addicted youth special attention on personal, social, educational, and employment problems within the general system of transition services.

Entrance to the Labor Market

- Training occupies a place of honor in European measures to cope with cyclical and structural difficulties. It is assumed that there are or soon will be skill shortages and that training can benefit both the individual and the economy. Until the present recession, this idea was accepted without question, but now one hears doubts about future needs in light of technological change and better utilization of manpower. Many government training programs are open to teenagers or are extended to this group during periods of rising unemployment, and some special programs have been launched as well. The significance for the United States of some of the special measures for youth depends on one's expectation of skill shortages in the youth labor market here.

- Two British programs illustrate the convergence of cyclical and structural policy for youth. The *Wider Opportunities Courses* now are used experimentally with young people, and are being evaluated systematically. They attempt to develop the participants' self-confidence in their ability to meet the demands of various kinds of employment rather than to impart specific occupational skills. It is expected that successful participants will be better able to respond to new employment or training opportunities throughout their lives. Secondly, *Gateway Courses* were proposed in mid 1975 by the Training Services Agency. The program will be formulated more definitely in 1976 after national debate on the details is concluded. Essentially, the Gateway Course is envisioned as a three months off-the-job course that will give knowledge of broad occupational categories rather than specific skills. It is still to be decided whether such courses should start in the last year of school, just after school ends, or after the first unemployment, and the precise location is uncertain, though all relevant facilities are viewed with approval. Part of the Gateway Course is seen as an introduction to more advanced and specific training by employers. In addition, the Industrial Training Boards are urged to stimulate more training for young people in the work place than now exists, but it is recognized that much of such training is not in the employer's interest and requires subsidization.

- One of the newer measures in Europe is the offer of public subsidies to employers to hire young people they would otherwise not employ. These programs call for training or work, or combinations of work and training. Employers who might not continue apprenticeship training because of difficult economic conditions also are subsidized in Britain and The Netherlands. Subsidies to employers have reportedly worked well in Sweden, but French employers have not responded in as large a number as was hoped they would.

- Belgium has been discussing an early retirement plan that would make more room for young people. The plan is to finance the measure by a special tax on firms whose profits have been higher than average.

- Mobility allowances are not generally used much by teenagers, but some countries provide special housing and recreation facilities for young workers.

- As a final citation, the comprehensive Swedish program against youth unemployment may be described. Drafted in a period of full employment in May 1975, the program of the National Labor Market Board laid down guidelines to be followed by the County Labor Boards and the local employment service offices in the event of an increase in youth unemployment. Emphasis is given to intensified employment service activities, the creation of training opportunities within the educational system, training in labor market centers, and an increase in public service employment for youth. Among the duties of the employment service are analyses of the extent and structure of youth unemployment; cooperation with school authorities, municipal social service agencies, and others on training and work opportunities for youth; activities in schools, youth centers, and youth organizations; intensified job canvassing; study tours to work places; following up individual young people, especially those who do not continue their studies or drop out of upper secondary school. In each office, unemployed young people are to be served by one or more specialized officers.

In the whole perspective of current European efforts, it would be misleading to suggest that any country has devised policies that assure an easy transition from school to work for the segment of youth that has the greatest difficulty. The effectiveness of many of the policies for the longer-term structural problems has yet to be tested. But in the absence of better ideas, some of these proposals may be worth trying in the United States. Surely it is a worse alternative to take refuge in the indisputable fact that youth is a temporary malady and that all young people in the labor market will automatically become prime-age workers without any governmental assistance.

NOTES

1. This chapter is based on a forthcoming book, *Bridges to Work: International Comparisons of Transition Services*, and work in progress on the preparation of youth for work and the youth labor market.

2. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), *The Entry of Youth into Working Life*; European Economic Community, *Measures to Reduce Youth Unemployment* (Brussels, May 1975); Council of Europe, *Unemployment among Young People and its Social Aspects* (Strasbourg, 1975); Ronald Gass, "Approaches to the Transition from School to Work," Seymour L. Wolfbein, ed., *Labor Market Information for Youths* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1975), pp. 11-23; "The Problem of Young People's Entry into Working Life," *OECD Observer* (September-October 1975), pp. 14-16.

3. For example: *Manpower Report of the President*, 1968; Franz Groemping, "Transition from School to Work in Selected Countries," in *The Transition from School to Work*, Princeton Manpower Symposium May 1968 (Princeton: Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University, Research Report Series no. 111, 1968), pp. 132-88; David Bauer, *Factors Moderating Unemployment Abroad*, The Conference Board, Studies in Business Economics no. 113 (New York, 1970); U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages*, Bulletin 1657 (Washington, 1970), chaps. 10, 11.

4. The recommendation, stated in several papers, is most accessible in Martin Feldstein, "The Economics of the New Unemployment," *The Public Interest* (Fall 1973), pp. 3-41.

APPENDIX

AN OUTLINE OF THE ISSUES AND POLICY PERSPECTIVES

Marcia Freedman

The issues are drawn from the expert papers and are organized around four topics: Dimensions of the Youth Employment Problem, Training and Work Experience, Labor Market Experiences, and Community Interactions and Policy Implications. Reference is made in parentheses to authors dealing with specific points.

DIMENSIONS OF THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

In defining the problems that impede successful transition, the papers vary most in their emphasis on in-school or out-of-school youth, a dichotomy that implies a different emphasis with respect to age, since most young people under 18 are still in school.

● The gap between education and work has widened over the years (Barton, Gallagher). Note, however, the paradox that the student labor force has continued to increase as the youth and student population has grown larger, and that work experience in "secondary" jobs is widespread (Barton, Freedman). The demarcation between in-school and out-of-school youth with respect to labor market participation is much more marked in other countries (Reubens). The society suffers from increasing age segregation (Barton) and the weakening of all community institutions except the school (Tyler).

● Young workers lack labor market information (Tyler, Parnes, Wolfbein). The term "labor market information" can be interpreted in two general ways: (1) information about occupations, aptitudes, and other factors generally associated with career guidance; and (2) information about specific openings during the job search, with the implication of personal or institutional access to opportunities (Freedman). In placement itself, the public employment service has low effectiveness (NCMP Staff Report, Wolfbein, Taggart, Freedman).

● In the transition process, the largest disadvantages are associated with sex and race. There are also regional and locational disadvantages (Parnes). It is not clear how much the Southern disadvantage is related to the small-town, rural disadvantage, or whether it will persist in the face of the relative growth in prosperity of the region. In this connection, as well as others, it must be kept in mind that the data in most of the papers are at least five years old.

- High youth unemployment rates are related to typical patterns of job-changing and movement in and out of the labor force. The evidence is mixed with respect to the utility of job changes (Parnes). There is agreement that unemployment rates decrease with age and show a sharp downturn at 25. There is evidence that for younger workers--even the preferred white male component of the labor force--there are not enough "good" jobs to go around (Parnes, Reubens), and for the suggestion that given the pressure of the large youth cohort in the 1970s, there may not be enough good jobs for those over 25 (Freedman). As job competition increases, established workers try to protect their jobs from new entrants (Freedman, Reubens). As the age group under consideration grows older, its position cannot be considered in isolation from the job prospects of the rest of the population.

- The advantages of a high school diploma among the noncollege graduates are clear; the advantages of specialized training are less clear. The problems associated with preparation are taken up in the next section.

TRAINING AND WORK EXPERIENCE

Emphasis

There is a fundamental issue in the emphasis placed on various requirements for employment or "employability." One view stresses exposures and experience, whether paid or voluntary, throughout the years spent in school (Barton, Gallagher). Another seeks to fill the gap in basic literacy skills--which are below minimum requirements among about 20 percent of high school seniors--as a prerequisite for employability (Tyler). A third emphasis is on the acquisition of specific, job-related skills. In this respect, there are two large gaps in our knowledge: (1) How training modalities vary between and within occupations. What are the alternative routes to skill acquisition and what are the trends? (2) Appropriate criteria for judging training effectiveness (Taggart).

Work Experience for In-School Youth

There is little known about the impact of random work experience (Barton), but such experience does not seem to result in better understanding of the world of work (Tyler). The Neighborhood Youth

Corps did not result in greater school retention (Taggart). Cooperative education has always been small in scope, although highly regarded. There are difficulties in creating places under sluggish economic conditions (NCMP Staff Report). The areas of greatest success have been in office clerical and "distributive" occupations. The criteria for success (Tyler) require high quality supervisors (Barton) and imply large costs. (For examples of program, see Barton, Gallagher)

Vocational Education

High school curriculum made no contribution to an explanation of differential success in the first three years of full-time labor market participation (Parnes). There are problems of articulation--neither vocational education nor other training is accepted as credit for apprenticeship (Green); some curricula are offered without full knowledge of how local employers meet their needs for labor (Barton). Interagency cooperation is weak in the planning and evaluation of vocational education (Wolfbein). Overall, the issue seems to be the place of vocational education in the total training picture.

The same can be said of other formal training, whether public or private. The training effectiveness of Title I is in doubt (Taggart). We lack information on total numbers being trained (Wolfbein). There is conflicting evidence on the impact of pre-employment training on the early years of full-time work (Parnes).

Industry Training

We have no full picture of industry training. In the three firms reporting, formal training for entry workers is brief, although in two (retail and utility), further training is offered if and when the worker is upgraded. Except for construction, where training is handled on a craft basis, formal training programs are likely to be industry-specific and offered in large firms. Many of the youngest entry workers begin full-time work in small firms. Office clerical skills are expected to be acquired before employment (NCMP Staff Report). The requirements for pre-employment training implies circumscribed job duties and less likelihood of entering an internal labor market where there are upgrading opportunities.

Apprenticeship

Although there are elaborate agency relationships, there is great variation from place to place in implementation. Programs are small, with the majority in the building trades. The uncertainties in the construction industry tend to limit apprenticeship opportunities. Many apprentices do not finish their training. There is need for more flexibility and better integration with other training and work experience. There are probably more journeymen who are not finished apprentices than ones who are (Green). Some of the demand for skilled craftsmen is still being met by new immigrants, but the extent is unknown. Although apprenticeship has always seemed attractive, it is a declining mode in countries where it has always been strong (Reubens).

LABOR MARKET EXPERIENCES

In spite of high unemployment rates, there is a market for young workers. Below the age of 25, they are concentrated by industry in communications; the retailing of nondurable goods; finance and insurance; health, education, and other consumer services. By occupation, they are concentrated in clerical, sales, and laborers' jobs, although they also have a large representation in operative occupations across industries. The occupational segregation of young women is extreme.

In-school youth are part-time workers. The vast majority of 16- and 17-year-old workers are enrolled in school, and their labor force participation is strongly influenced by the local unemployment rate. By implication, if the employment picture improves, more of them will be drawn into the market.

Out-of-school youth tend to have the same kinds of jobs as students, but on a full-time basis. Their unemployment is related to job-changing, which is functional for those seeking an exit from low-wage sectors. The evidence on job-changing is mixed. Parnes concludes: ". . .it would appear that while mobility may indeed constitute a means of escape from low-paying jobs, the real advantage lies with those who find satisfactory initial jobs and remain in them." The implied issue is how many such jobs are available at any one time.

The high school diploma point is critical for noncollege graduates. But among high school graduates, after two to five years in the labor market the earnings differential in favor of males was 25 percent among whites and 19 percent among blacks; the differential in favor of whites was 17 percent among males and 10 percent among females. Age (as a surrogate for experience) was most significant in improving earnings for white males, less for black males, and not at all for females.

Staying in large cities (over 300,000) and moving away from small ones was associated with the highest earnings gains.

Married men did better on all measures of success. Parnes is inclined to ascribe this result to greater motivation and sense of purpose, but it is at least as possible that occupational success makes marriage more attractive.

With respect to structural features, collective bargaining coverage is associated with higher wages for all but black women. Women do better in the public sector, men in the private sector.

The NCMP Staff Report offers support to the findings from the Freedman and Parnes papers reported above. The support is limited by the particular firms reporting. It should be kept in mind that the manufacturing firm represents one aspect of a high-wage, low-skill operation; the retail firm is a large chain; and the utility is one of several types, distinguished among other things by the large proportion of young women it hires.

Nevertheless, the report shows that retailing employs younger workers on a part-time basis; that entry jobs, mostly for those over 18, do exist; that on-the-job training for these jobs is brief; that neither minimum wage nor child labor regulations are major barriers; that in nonmanufacturing there are likely to be more entry jobs for women; that youth are not sui generis undesirable. It is noteworthy that the firms relied mostly on impressions with respect to higher rates of absenteeism and turnover by age and that their participation in school and community programs was more from a sense of corporate responsibility than from need.

COMMUNITY INTERACTIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Federal Responsibilities, Local Initiatives

There is agreement that better coordination is needed at all levels of government (Barton, Wolfbein). At the federal level, collaboration is impeded by the organization of programs around client groups and professional establishments (Barton). The role of the federal government is to provide materials, overview, and perhaps even oversight, with implementation and experimentation left up to local communities (Barton, Gallagher, Tyler). In this view, policy will be made after the fact, from the evaluation of local initiatives (Barton).

The biggest difference in European and American approaches to the youth employment problem lies precisely here. The Europeans, while allowing for local flexibility, deal at the national level with policy-making and program implementation (Reubens).

The Character of Local Programs

The role of the school in socializing youth has increased over the years, but it is inadequate to the task. The emphasis on community-building, expanding the participation of business, taking the school outside its own walls, and decreasing age segregation raises the issue of fragmentation within the community. First, what is a community? Is it a neighborhood, a city, a standard metropolitan statistical area? What are the incentives for overcoming special interests (or lack of interest)? In large cities, there are struggles among ethnic groups and even among school districts. Age groups are by no means united, nor are worker groups. Furthermore, many employers are mobile and have less interest in specific localities than do certain large firms with large capital investments. Examples of community programs abound (Barton, Gallagher, Green). What are the criteria of transferability? Or are communities sui generis?

Program Priorities

None of the authors make exclusive recommendations for types of service, but leading candidates include information and guidance (Wolfbein, Tyler, Parnes); basic education (Tyler); formal training (Parnes, Green); work experience (Barton, Gallagher, Wolfbein, Tyler); placement (Parnes, Taggart).

There is a difference not only in emphasis, but also in groups that should receive priority. For example:

- Services should be universal, individualized and, continuous (Wolfbein).

- The target population should be 19-to-20-year-olds who have demonstrated some desire to settle down and who are disadvantaged but whose handicaps can be overcome. Program emphasis should be on screening, placement, and on-the-job training, that is to say, on the most "job-related" services (Taggart).

- Other countries focus on the youngest, least educated school-leavers for specialized services (Reubens). The U.S. equivalent would be somewhat older on the average, since the out-of-school 16-and-17-year-old cohort, although the most disadvantaged, is numerically small.

Job Creation

Most of the papers describe secular trends and deal with the long-time problems associated with the transition. In evaluating manpower programs, however, Taggart gave the best marks to public service employment, even though youth were underrepresented. In any case, if the economy should make a strong recovery, there might still be an oversupply of young workers as the age of marriage and child-bearing goes up and more young women enter the labor market (Freedman). If there is to be job creation, how should programs be organized? What are the desirable features of youth participation?

Training

There is a tension between the idea that many nonprofessional jobs require only brief occupational training (Tyler, NCMP Staff Report) and the tendency to proliferate formal training courses as years of schooling are extended. The idea that occupational training offers a comparative advantage in the labor market has taken hold in proportion to the decline in demand for college graduates with liberal arts degrees. Meanwhile, a minimum of 20 percent of high school seniors lack reading, writing, or computation skills sufficient for entry employment. Apart from the implied issue of priorities in this juxtaposition, what are the institutional and organizational barriers to be overcome in improving basic literacy? On a more general level, what information is required for more rational decisions--both national and local--with respect to providing pre-employment training?

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